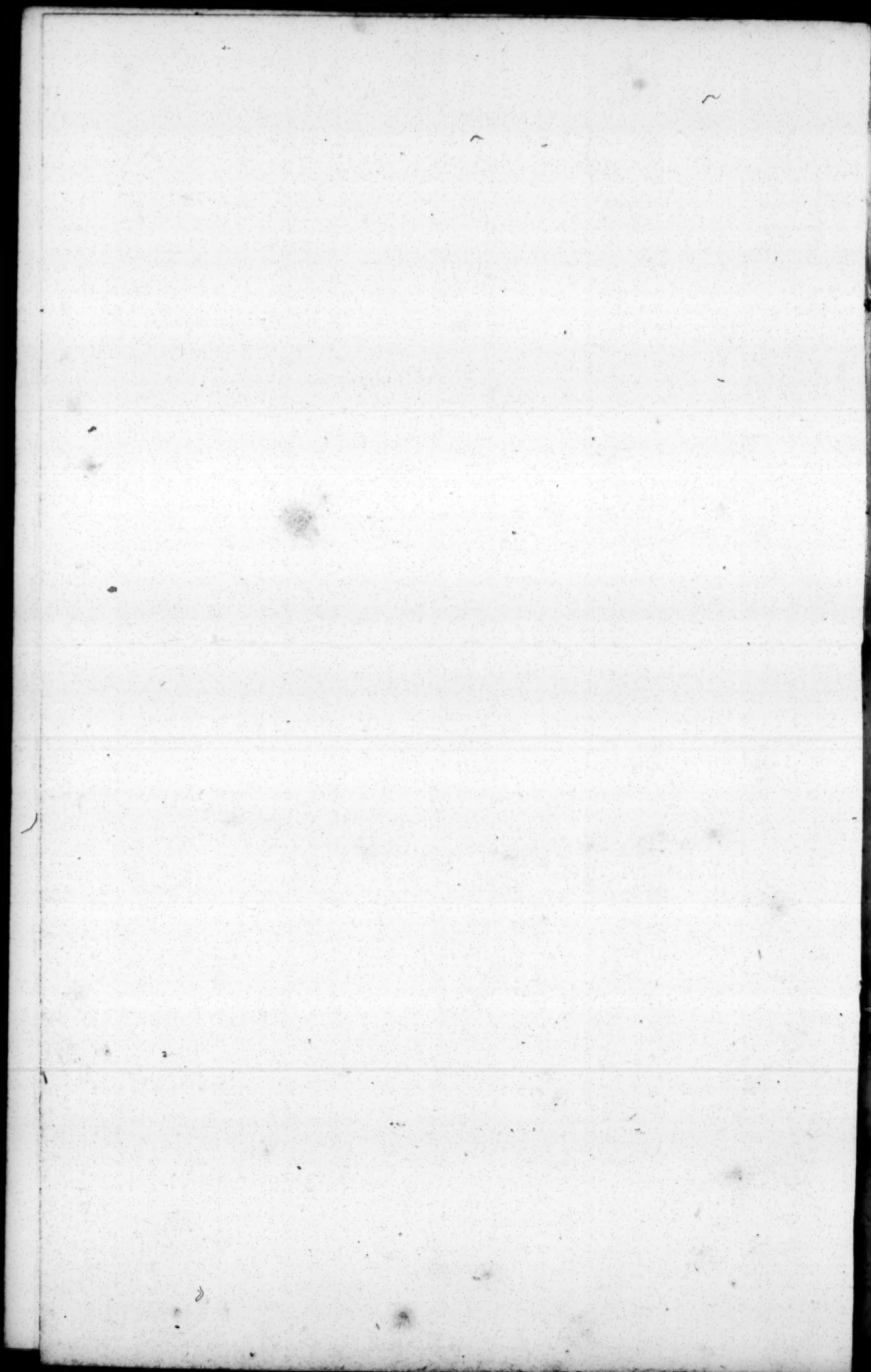


SELECT ESSAYS
OF
DIO CHRYSOSTOM.

Price 6s. in Boards.



SELECT ESSAYS
OF
DIO CHRYSOSTOM,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE GREEK;

WITH

NOTES,

CRITICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE:

BY

GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B.A.

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Διωκομεν, αλλ' ουκ εγκαταλειπομεν
Καταβαλλομεν, αλλ' ουκ απολλομεν.

Persecuted, but not forsaken :
Thrown down, but not destroyed.

2 COR. IV. 9.

Εἰ γὰρ τις ὄζους ὀξύτομῳ πελέκει
Ἐξερειψαὶ κε μεγάλας δρυς, αἰ-
-σχυνοὶ δὲ οἱ θαῦτον εἶδ'·
Καὶ φθινοκαρπῶ εἰ-
-σα δίδοι ψαφὸν περ αὐτάς,
Εἰ ποτε χειμερίον
Πῦρ ἐξικῆται λοισθιον.

PIND. PYTH. IV. 468.

See'st thou, the forest's pride, yon stately Oak ?
Soon it may stand, of fruit and foliage bare,
It's honours lopp'd by the fell woodman's stroke,
A mangled trunk in the tempestuous air.

Yet, shorne of strength,—yet, spoil'd of gay attire,
The wood e'en then a native worth displays :
A formless remnant on the wintry fire,
An Oak still proves it's vigour by the blaze.

P R E F A C E.

FROM the memorials of DION, or DIO, CHRYSOSTOM, which have been transmitted to our times by himself, by Photius, Philostratus, or others, and investigated by Fabricius in that immense and inestimable repository of ancient literature, the *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. iv. cap. 10. we collect, that our author was the son of one Pasocrates, that his grandfather was honoured with the title and privileges of a Roman citizen by the reigning emperor of his day; that he was born at Prusa in Bithynia, but afterwards, like a man of sense and spirit, who estimates a country by the liberality and benevolence of its manners and institutions, quitted the place of his nativity, where he rose to political distinctions as a magistrate, rather than submit to the tyrannical government then exercised in that province: imitating Pythagoras, the most illustrious philosopher of antiquity, in this respect; who retired to Italy from the arbitrary domination of Polycrates: a circumstance, which Ovid seems to have thought too striking and important to be left unnoticed in his most beau-

tiful and interesting narrative of that extraordinary man, no less distinguished by the humanity of his disposition and the purity of his life, than the sublimity and subtlety of his genius :

Vir fuit hic ortu Samius ; sed fugerat unâ
Et Samon et dominos, odioque tyrannidis exsul
Sponte erat. Ovid. Metam. xv. 60.

In Samos born, his native Isle he left
To her despotic rulers : FREEDOM'S charms
Cœlestial sweeten'd exile to the Sage.

Our author Dio was familiarly acquainted with Apollonius of Tyana and Euphrates of Tyre, during the reigns of Nero and Vespasian. When he arrived at manhood, he travelled into Ægypt and other countries for the improvement of his understanding by a survey of their curiosities, and by conversation with their inhabitants. On his return to Rome, his freedom of speech (that unpardonable offence to all TYRANTS, and the true touchstone of POLITICAL VIRTUE in every community) in conjunction with his friendship for a man of honour, whom Domitian had put to death, endangered his life with that despotic monster, and drove him into banishment, about the year *ninety-four* of the Christian æra, with no other companions of his exile besides Plato's dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul, and a single ora-

tion of Demosthenes. From the manner in which he mentions the Getæ, Mysians, and Thracians, in several passages of his works, he seems to have penetrated during this pilgrimage to the very extremities of the Roman empire. He was recalled from banishment by Nerva, and was caressed by that emperour, but more particularly by Trajan, who conspicuously displayed his esteem and affection, by admitting our philosopher to accompany him on extraordinary occasions, when he rode in his triumphal chariot through the city. That magnanimous prince, the sovereign of the world, did not think himself disgraced by being seen in the procession of imperial Rome with a man of letters sitting by his side.

Dio's character, as a moral præceptor, an eloquent writer, and a graceful speaker, was in high estimation with his contemporaries and his successors in the same rhetorical department. He acquired the additional name of *Cocceianus* from his patron Cocceius, and of *Chrysostom*, or *golden mouthed*, from the elegance and purity of his compositions: a name, which has occasioned a frequent confusion of our *Dio Chrysostom*, the heathen philosopher, with *John Chrysostom*, the Christian preacher, so denominated for the same solid and splendid excellences of his style. In person our author is reasonably

presumed, from various circumstances of praise and censure on these topics in his orations, to have been slender, and of inferiour stature. He was married, brought up children, and lived to a good old-age.

A second volume of translations, certainly not less valuable than the present, from the same author, is deferred, till an experiment have been made on the public taste ; but that volume will immediately follow it's precursor, if demanded by encouragement and approbation.

John James Reiske's edition of the original is the only copy of *Dio Chrysostom* in my possession. It was published at *Leipsic*, in 1784, without a Latin version, in two volumes 8vo. after the death of the commentator, by his learned widow, *Ernestina Christina Reiske*, with a short preface by herself.

DORCHESTER GAOL,
Feb. 15, 1800.

CONCERNING

*KINGLY GOVERNMENT (a) **

IT is said, that Alexander, while yet a youth, maintained a debate with his father Philip (on some occasion) concerning Homer, with a display of extraordinary spirit and magnanimity. The subject of this conversation turned chiefly upon kingly government, and took place during a military expedition, in which he accompanied his father, who yielded with reluctance to the enterprising ardour of his son: as the young hounds of generous breed disdain to be left at home by the pack, frequently bursting their cords to join their companions in the chace; and accordingly sometimes confound the sport by their eagerness and inexperience, opening, and starting the game, at an improper season; and sometimes even seize it by springing forwards before the rest. Indeed something of this sort happened at first to Alexander also: for he was the cause both of the battle and victory at Chæroneæ, whilst his father stood hesitating at the magnitude and danger of that enterprise.

* See the notes at the end.

However, on their return from that expedition, they were engaged in a sacrifice to the Muses at Dium, a city of Pieria, and were celebrating a sort of Olympic games, which are said to be a very ancient institution among the Macedonians; when Philip arrested his attention to this question: Whence is it, my son! that you are so vehemently smitten with an admiration of Homer, as to be incessantly occupied with him alone, to the neglect of all other poets, whose wisdom entitles them to a share in your regards? Because, said Alexander, every kind of poetry, father! seems to me no more suitable to a king, than every kind of dress. Other poetry, methinks! is either convivial songs, or love-verses, or encomiums of victorious champions and their steeds, or elegies on the dead; some partakes of a ludicrous or satirical complexion, as that of the comic writers (*b*) and the Parian bard; some also may not unfitly be called popular, consisting of admonitory maxims for the general conduct of mankind; as the sentences of Phocylides and Theognis: but what benefit can accrue from such poetry to one like me,

Who burns to stretch his sway o'er all mankind (*c*)?

Whereas I perceive Homer's poetry alone to be truly generous, and dignified, and kingly; worthy of peculiar estimation from a man, who

premeditates sovereignty over the whole human race ; or who will be at least, in the language of that poet, *a shepherd of the people* in reality to a most populous and distinguished empire. Besides, would it not be absurd and inconsistent for a king to use no horse but the best, and yet to employ himself, like a man of leisure, in reading poets of inferior dignity and worth? Not merely so, said he ; but I assure you, father ! that I not only dislike every other poet, but hear every measure, except the heroic numbers of Homer, with impatience and disgust.

These magnanimous sentiments, which discovered an elevation of mind above all vulgar and mean conceptions, and a competition with heroes and with demi-gods, imprest on Philip the feelings of respectful admiration : with a view, however, to a farther excitation of his ideas, Do you regard Hesiod then, said he, as a poet of little value? No, truly, replies Alexander ; but of all possible value, except to kings, and, perhaps, generals. To whom then? Shepherds, says Alexander, with a smile, and smiths, and husbandmen (*d*) : for he calls shepherds the favourites of the Muses, and prescribes very knowingly to smiths the proper construction of a wain, and to husbandmen the management of their vintage. Well now, said Philip, are not these things useful to mankind?

Not to us, father! at least; he answered; nor to the Macedonians of the present day, as they were to their ancestors, herdsmen and farmers, in subjection to the Illyrians and Triballi. But, rejoins Philip, do not even these verses of Hesiod please you, which prescribe the seasons of seed-time and harvest in numbers of such sonorous majesty?

When rise the Pleiad train on heaven's high brow,
Put forth your sickle; when they sink, your plough.

Nay, said Alexander, but I am much more pleased with the agricultural poetry of Homer. But where, replied Philip, does Homer treat of agriculture? You mean, perhaps, those fanciful representations of ploughmen, and reapers, and vintagers, in the Shield? Not so, said Alexander; but rather the following description (e):

As sweating reapers in some wealthy field,
Rang'd in two bands, their crooked weapons wield,
Bear down the furrows, 'till their labours meet;
Thick fall the heapy harvests at their feet:
So Greece and Troy the field of war divide,
And falling ranks are strew'd on every side:
None stoopt a thought to base inglorious flight;
But horse to horse, and man to man, they fight.

Yet Homer with all this fine poetry, Philip said, was worsted by Hesiod. Or have you not heard of that inscription at Helicon upon the tripod (f)?

Hesiod presents this tripod to the Nine;
Victor in song o'er Homer the divine.

No wonder, replied Alexander, if he were worsted; for that trial of skill was not contested before kings, but in the presence of rustic and vulgar judges, or rather before men of pleasure and effeminacy: for which usage Homer revenged himself on the Eubœans in his poetry. In what way? inquired Philip, with surprise. By describing them alone of all the Greeks, with their hair cut in a most uncomely style, and dangling from behind, like the delicate children of our own times (*g*). You know, Alexander! Philip then said, with a smile, we must not interfere with the discretion of masterly authors in verse or prose; since they are invested with full authority to say what they please concerning us (*h*). Not altogether so: for Stesichorus did himself no good by his falsehoods against Helen (*i*). However, father! Hesiod himself seems to me conscious to the inferiority of his own powers in comparison with Homer. How so? Because, when Homer had given us a catalogue of heroes, he presents us with a list of women (*k*), and celebrates, as it were, a collection of ladies in their apartment (*l*), thus yielding to Homer the privilege of extolling men.

Then Philip put this question to his son:

But, Alexander! would you rather be Agamemnon, or Achilles, or any other of those heroes, than Homer? Nay, said Alexander; I should choose to surpass by many degrees both Achilles and the rest. For I neither look upon you as inferior to Peleus, nor Macedonia as less powerful than Phthia; nor should I speak of mount Olympus as less illustrious than Pelion: nor in fact have I enjoyed fewer advantages of education under Aristotle, than Achilles under Phœnix, a fugitive from his country, and at variance with Amyntor his father (*m*). Not to mention, that Achilles was in subjection to others, and goes on a military expedition with a small force under the orders of a foreign general: but I would submit in no case to the controul of any king alive. Then Philip, somewhat exasperated by this declaration: And are you not, Alexander, under my controul? In no wise, said he: for I do not obey you as a king, but as a father.

Surely, however, you cannot call yourself the son of a goddess, as Achilles was? continued Philip. Or will you presume to compare Olympias with Thetis? Indeed, Olympias, father! surpasses in masculine dignity the daughters of Nereus; says Alexander, with a complacent smile. Philip laughed at this: Verily, my son! he replied, she is not only more masculine

than they, but has more of the warrior about her. With me at least she wages an eternal war (*n*).—So far they discoursed together with a mixture of jocular and seriousness.

Then Philip renewed the conversation by this question: With your excessive admiration of Homer, how is it, Alexander! that you overlook his skill and excellence as a poetic artist? Because, said he, at the Olympic games also, I should like to hear the herald make proclamation with a voice distinct and loud; not, however, of others' victories, but of my own. By which remark he manifested his opinion of Homer, as a divine herald of virtue; but insinuated himself to be a champion and competitor of merit, with the heroes of that poet. In truth, father! it were no strange event, said he, if nature had made me also excellent in poetry. Rhetoric too might have been full as necessary to a king. You accordingly are frequently compelled to write and speak both against Demosthenes, a most formidable and bewitching orator; and against the rest of the Athenian statesmen. Assure yourself, said Philip playfully, that I would give up Amphipolis to the Athenians for the oratorical energies of Demosthenes. But what, think you, were Homer's sentiments on rhetoric? He appears to me, father! an admirer of that art: otherwise,

he would never have attached Phœnix to Achilles as his instructor in oratory ; who says, that Peleus sent him to be an example to his son (*o*),

By acts and eloquence, of words and deeds.

He has exhibited the noblest and most king-like of his other heroes also, Diomed (*p*), Ulysses, and Nestor, as no less emulous of this accomplishment : and says accordingly of Nestor, in the beginning of his poem (*q*),

Words flow'd, than honey sweeter, from his tongue :

so that even Agamemnon prayed for ten such counsellors as Nestor, in preference to ten youthful heroes like Ajax and Achilles ; as the means of a speedier termination to the siege of Troy (*r*). He has shown, moreover, the great utility of eloquence in another place. When the Greeks were at length wearied of the expedition from the tediousness of the war, and the difficulties of the siege, and in part, no doubt, from the pestilence, which had seized them, in addition to the quarrel of their princes ; and, at this juncture, a certain demagogue presented himself before them, and threw the assembly into confusion ; the multitude rusht to the ships, went on board, and were disposed to an immediate departure : for no man was able to restrain them, nor could Agamemnon devise any expedient in this emer-

gency (*s*): Ulysses alone had the address to divert them from their purpose; and, by his harangues with those of Nestor, finally persuaded them to stay. This exploit, therefore, was manifestly an achievement of those orators: and we might produce many other specimens also to the same effect.

Besides, Hesiod too, no less than Homer, is manifestly of opinion, that true rhetoric as well as philosophy are accomplishments adapted to a king, from what he says of Calliope (*t*):

She with her presence deigns those kings to bless,
Whom the nine daughters of great Jove caress;
The heaven-born monarchs, whom that genial power
Approv'd and foster'd in their natal hour.

However, to make epic poems, father! or compositions in prose, as you write epistles, with extraordinary credit to yourself, I am told, is a talent not altogether requisite for kings, except perhaps those who have youth and leisure: as, they say, you also, when at Thebes(*u*), went through a complete course of study upon language. Nor, on the other hand, is a profound application to philosophy adviseable for kings, but rather an unsophisticated and simple cultivation, by a practical display of benevolent and gentle and just deportment, with an elevation and manliness of character; and especially by a pre-eminent delight in acts of kindness and

beneficence, which constitutes the closest approximation of human nature to the divine (*v*). Yet kings should listen with pleasure to philosophical instruction in it's season, as in no wise contradictory, but consonant, to their modes of life. I would not, however, advise a king, of a soul generous, and worthy his exalted rank, to suffer his mind to be delighted by every species of poetry, but by the most honourable and dignified alone; such as Homer's is acknowledged to be, and the corresponding portions of Hesiod's works: with any other poet of similar excellence to these. For neither, continued he, should I choose to learn on every kind of musical instrument, but the harp only or the lyre, for the hymns and services of the Gods, and the praises of virtuous men: nor would it be decorous for kings to chant the love-verses of Sappho and Anacreon; but perchance, if occasion should demand, the lyric stanzas of Stesichorus (*w*) or Pindar. Yet, peradventure, Homer alone is sufficient even for all this.

Do you think then, says Philip, any parts of Homer's poetry adapted to the lyre? Alexander, upon this, cast a glance on Philip with the fierce aspect of a lion, and, Much of Homer's poetry, said he, in my opinion, father! might very suitably be accompanied by the

trumpet; not with those notes, however, of that instrument, which dictate a retreat, but with the sounds that rouse to battle: nor must this poetry be chanted by a company of virgin choristers, but by the chorus of a phalanx under arms; a band, much better accommodated to his epic strains, than to the verses of Tyrtæus among the Spartans.

Here Philip commended his remarks, as honourable to himself, and worthy of his admired poet. In fact, continues Alexander, Homer himself establishes the propriety of my sentiments. Accordingly, he introduces Achilles, during his secession from the war, in the camp of the Græcians (*x*), not singing the ditties of effeminacy and love, though under the influence, at that time, of a strong passion for Briseis; but playing on the lyre: and not a lyre, which he had purchased, or brought with him from his father's house; but one selected from the spoils, when he stormed Thebes, and slew Eetion, the father-in-law of Hector:

With this he soothes his anguish'd soul, and sings
The feats of heroes to the sounding strings.

By which the poet would insinuate, that a generous and kingly spirit should never lose sight of virtue and illustrious achievements, even at his meals or in his music; but should

be occupied incessantly in performing some great and admirable exploit himself, or in recording the exploits of characters congenial with his own. Now Alexander intended by this remark to discover his own disposition to his father: for he was indeed fond of Homer, but, as to Achilles, that prince was not only an object of his admiration, but of jealousy, as the hero of Homer's poem: like children of ambitious spirit, jealous of any companion more caressed than they by their superiors. But he was not accustomed to think enviably of Agamemnon, from the hopes of governing a people much more numerous than his: nor did he feel much attachment to other poets. He would, however, occasionally mention Stesichorus and Pindar; the former, because an imitator of Homer, and for his poem on the taking of Troy, executed in a style not unworthy of that master: Pindar, for the splendour of his diction, and a panegyric on his ancestor and name-sake Alexander, surnamed the friend of the Græcians; to whom that ode was written, which begins with this verse:

Thou, who from happy Greeks deriv'st thy name!

From the same predilection for this poet, afterwards also, when Thebes was razed to the ground, he left only the house of Pindar standing, with orders for the following inscription to

be fixed upon it: "Burn not this house of Pindar, the votary of the Muses!" Nor did he ever fail in his acknowledgements of particular obligation to the writers of any respectable compositions in his praise: so excessive was his love of fame!

Apparently then, said Philip (for I listen to your conversation, my son! with extreme pleasure), you must disapprove a palace for the king's residence, adorned with the expensive decorations of gold, and ivory, and compositions of precious metal? Certainly, father! I would have these palaces decorated rather with the spoils and arms of enemies: and I would conciliate the favour of the Gods by suspending similar ornaments in their temples; as Hector, when he challenged the bravest of the Greeks, promised, if victorious, to restore the body of his antagonist to his friends, but his armour, says he, will I strip off (*y*),

And hang, as trophies, in Apollo's fane.

For, universally, this ornament of temples is preferable to emeralds, to the Sardine stone, and the onyx. Sardanapalus, with this furniture in his palace, enjoyed a residence conformable to his character; because such objects will not be studiously pursued by a real sovereign: mere play-things for a simple girl, or a

licentious woman ! Upon this principle, he said, I admire and covet less the sumptuous magnificence of the Athenians in their city and temples, than the glorious achievements of their progenitors : and I should deem the dagger of Mardonius, or the bucklers of those Spartans, taken prisoners in Pylos (*z*), much more venerable and estimable as a consecrated offering to the Gods, than the portico of the citadel (*a*), and the temple of Olympian Jupiter (*b*), on which more than ten thousand talents, were expended. But, interrupted Philip, on this ground you must be sparing in your praise of Homer : for he has adorned the royal mansion of Alcinous, a Greek and islander, in a finished style, not only with gardens and waters, as a most delightful dwelling, but with images of gold (*c*). Nay, has he not done still more with the residence of Menelaus, though a soldier and newly returned from the wars, when he represents it, not merely as a Persian or Median palace, but almost a match in luxurious splendour to the superb mansions of Semiramis, Xerxes, and Darius ?

Like as the dazzling sun's meridian rays,
Or Phœbe, beaming with her fullest blaze :
Such glistening glories on the gazer's sight
Burst from the palace in a flood of light :

whereas, according to your taste at least, his Trojan spoils would have diffused a more be-

coming radiance than those ornaments of gold and silver.

After some pause, By me, however, rejoined Alexander, Homer shall not go away undefended: since he probably intended to adapt the palace of Menelaus to the character of that prince, whom alone of all the Greeks he has called "a delicate warrior" (*d*). For no circumstances of Homer's poetry, even in any other instance, are unmeaning and unappropriate; but the very dress and house and diet of the individual are frequently adjusted to his character. With no other view the royal mansion of the Phæacians is elegantly accommodated with groves, and luscious fruits, and fountains of perennial water. Nay, still more is this decorum maintained with Calypso (*e*), a goddess of elegance and beauty, and benevolent to man; of a retired life, in an island sequestered from the world: for he describes this island as perfumed throughout by the fragrance of the sweetest odours; as sheltered by the close umbrage of blooming trees, with a beautifully spreading vine, bending beneath its bunches, and mantling round her grotto: in the front, soft meadows, with a profusion of the gayest verdure; and, in the middle, four springs of pure and transparent water, diffusing their refreshment on every side of the smooth

and level ground. Now all these objects are eminently calculated for inspiring love and pleasure, in conformity to the manners of that goddess. As for the hall of Menelaus, Homer represents it to abound with gold and costly ornaments, like a mansion of the Asiatic monarchs. Indeed, this prince was no remote descendant of Tantalus and Pelops (*f*): whence also, I presume, the chorus in Euripides thus express themselves in allusion to that circumstance (*g*):

See Menelaus now appear,
With gay attire and stately pace :
Sumptuous monarch ! worthy heir
Of the rich Tantalian race.

He has bestowed, however, no such decorations on the habitation of Ulysses; but describes it only as secure, agreeably to the manners of a cautious man (*h*):

Walls, battlements, strong doors, on every side
Protect the court, and force and fraud deride.

Besides, we must consider some portions of the poem, in the light of admonitions and exhortations; some, as simple narrative; some, as reproof and ridicule.

Now in what relates to the articles of sleep, to the bed-room, and the daily sustenance of life, Homer can furnish a discipline suited to

the formation of heroes and of monarchs ; so that from him probably Lycurgus derived those frugal convivialities, which he instituted among the Spartans : for this legislator is reported to have been an encomiast of Homer, and the first who introduced from Crete, or Ionia, his poems into Greece. Accordingly, Homer furnishes Diomed with accommodations of a very hardy nature (*i*), the hide of a weather-beaten ox for his bed, and a circle of upright spears for his curtain ; not, however, by way of ornament, but for prompt and convenient use. He regales also his heroes on flesh, and the flesh of oxen ; with reference to strength, not luxury. Thus, he tells us, Agamemnon, the supreme and most wealthy of the princes, always sacrificed an entire ox, for the entertainment of all the generals at his table (*k*) ; and graciously presents Ajax with the whole chine, after his victory over Hector. But the bard never introduces them as eating fish (*l*), though their station was on the banks of a sea, which he uniformly distinguishes by the appellation of *the fishy Hellespont* : and this accurate observation was made by Plato. Nor does he regale the suitors themselves on fish, even in the luxurious banquets of these highly delicate and self-indulgent sensualists.

Besides, that I am not mistaken in my

conception of his design to point out the proper food of man, and its uses, is a point demonstrable with the utmost clearness: for he calls the meal, which he approves, *a strength-sufficing meal* (*m*). Now this peculiarity can have no other view than that of signifying what sort of diet should be studied by men of virtue: for he could be no stranger to every species of expensive luxury; because those very people, who are occupied even to infatuation in these enjoyments, the Persians, and Syrians, with Italians and Ionians of Greek extraction, keep far behind the profusion and delicacies of Homer's banquets.

Then said Philip: Does he not, however, array his heroes in the most beautiful apparel? Certainly he does, replied Alexander; but not in effeminate and particoloured cloathing: Agamemnon only has he adorned with a purple robe, and Ulysses with one costly cloak, which he brought from home (*n*): and this, under a just persuasion, that a mean appearance, like the appearance of private and ordinary persons, misbecomes a general, whose very dress and armour should confer upon him a superiority of eminence and majesty; undebased at the same time by an effeminacy and puerility of decoration. Accordingly, that Carian, who had bedizened himself with golden

trinkets for the war; he insults in the most pointed language of derision (*o*):

Who, trick'd with gold, in gay fantastic pride
Went to the combat like a glittering bride.—
Fool that he was! by fierce Achilles slain,
The river swept him to the briny main.
There, whelm'd with waves, the gaudy warrior lies:
The valiant victor seiz'd the golden prize.

A just ridicule on his finery and folly, for holding out, as it were, an allurements to his enemies for his own destruction! Homer then, we see, has no praise in store for golden ornaments, especially in battle; nor yet for rings and collars, golden trappings and golden bridles; to which the Persians, as fame reports, are studiously addicted: for want, no doubt, of so critical a censor in military equipments, as Homer was.

By such institutes of discipline he has exhibited the rulers, good; and the people, orderly. His common soldiers march on to battle with a silent awe of their commanders; but the barbarians, with much tumult and irregularity, like cranes (*p*): because a reverential obedience from soldiers to their generals most conduces to safety and victory in the times of danger; whilst the fearless of their leaders are the first to fear their enemy. After victory also silence prevails in the Græcian camp; but among the

Trojans, on the most trivial success, through the whole night (*q*),

The flute, the pipe resounds, and din of men :

as if a temperate or insolent enjoyment of success were, in his opinion, an adequate criterion of Vice and Virtue.

Upon the whole, father ! we have in Homer according to my judgement, a most complete reformer of human manners ; and that king, who endeavours to model his conduct by this preceptor, will attain the perfection of prosperity and virtue. Two qualities are clearly propounded by him, as excellencies of the most princely character, Fortitude and Justice, where he says of Agamemnon (*r*) :

A righteous sovereign, and a warrior brave :

an epitome of all other virtues.

Nor should a king surpass others merely in what is masculine and dignified : he should not listen to performers on the flute and harp, or the chanters of effeminate and wanton songs ; nor approve the mischievous competitions of a depraved eloquence, whose object is the gratification of a most unlettered sottishness : but his first and principal aim should be, the removal and dismission of all such propensities

to the greatest possible distance from his own affections, and next, from the community, which he governs; to suppress farces of intemperate buffoonery, and the licentious authors of such ribaldry, whether in verse or prose; all lewd dances, with the meretricious gestures of the women who perform them; the squeaking disorderly measures of musical exhibitions, with all the fantastic and multifarious eccentricities of dissolute and frittered sounds. The ode alone will he sing himself, and approve in others: the ode, which is perfectly accordant to the God of War, of notes strong and thrilling; not communicative of pleasurable and indolent sensations to the hearer, but of inextricable alarm and perturbation: such notes as Mars himself produced (*s*),

When with shrill shout he urged his Trojans on.

Achilles also, with his unassisted voice, and unseen by the Trojans, put them to the rout; and crusht twelve men to death with their own chariots and armour (*t*).

To the ode may be added also the song of Victory, such as Achilles commanded the Greeks to celebrate, whilst the body of Hector was conveying to the ships, in conjunction with himself, the leader of the band (*u*):

Meanwhile, ye sons of Greece, in triumph bring
 The corpse of Hector, and your Pæans sing.
 Be this the song, slow-moving tow'rd the shore :
 " Hector is dead, and Ilion is no more !"

We may admit also the animating war-song, such as the Spartan march, well adapted to the polity and institutions of *Lycurgus* :

Genuine sons of Sparta bold !
 Firm and full your bucklers hold :
 With intrepid step advance ;
 Poise and point the vengeful lance.
 Life despise, and dare to fall :
 Glory and your country call !

Dances too may be indulged, of a spirit congenial with these songs; not those of a tripping and indecent step, but sedate and chaste, in majestic measures, performed as a first-fruit offering to the Gods, and an appendage of military discipline. That warlike dance, for example, under arms ; in which the poet has made *Meriones* excell, where a certain Trojan is introduced as thus addressing him (*τ*) :

Swift as thou art, the raging hero cries,
 And skill'd in dancing to dispute the prize,
 My spear, the destin'd passage had it found,
 Had fix'd thy active vigour to the ground.

Or can you suppose this son of *Molus*, and a man numbered among the most illustrious of the Greeks, to have been eminent in any other than that military dance, first practised by the



Curetes (*w*), and peculiar to the Cretans? of a sharp and rapid movement, for the purpose of eluding and escaping with agility the weapon of an enemy.

In consistency with the same exceptions, it follows also, that a monarch should not pray in similar petitions to those of ordinary men; nor invoke the deities with a supplication like this of the Ionic bard, Anacreon:

Sovereign, all-subduing Love!
 Azure Nymphs of Ocean's grove (*x*)
 Sporting in whose train are seen,
 With Beauty's rosy-blooming Queen,
 O'er the mountains as they go
 With a light fantastic toe:
 See thy prostrate suppliant bend!
 Deign a gracious ear to lend.
 Cleubulus by thy counsel move;
 Warm his breast with mutual love.

Nor again those ejaculations and addresses of the Athenians, less adapted to the condition of kings, than the promotion of joviality in convivial fraternities:

I wish to an ivory lyre I was moulded,
 That beautiful youths might bear me!
 I wish in a necklace of gold I was folded,
 That a delicate maiden might wear me!

How abundantly preferable is that prayer, which Homer has assigned to the sovereign of all the Greeks (*y*)!

Most glorious, mighty Jove! supreme alone!
 Who in the gloom of heaven hast fix'd thy throne!
 E'er yonder Sun sink in his western bed;
 E'er shadowy Night her dusky mantle spread;
 Grant me to lay in dust yon hostile spires,
 And Priam's dome involve in wasting fires:
 Through Hector's corslet may this sword descend!
 May from his breast this arm that corslet rend!
 Round their dead lord with many a ruthless wound
 May his gored troops in anguish gnaw the ground!

Other precepts and specimens of discipline might be produced in great variety, of a kingly and heroic character, from Homer's poetry; of which at this time, perhaps, a minute detail were tedious. I must remark, however, with what clearness and decision he insists on the absolute necessity of all preeminent accomplishments in sovereigns: particularly by the example of Agamemnon, when his poem first exhibits the army in array (z), and specifies all the generals, and the number of the ships. There, we see, no room left for competition to any other hero with a king as supreme in majesty, as a bull surpasses the herd in strength and size (a):

Like some proud bull that round the pasture leads
 His subject herds, the monarch of the meads;
 The king of kings, majestically tall,
 Towers o'er his armies, and outstrips them all.

But this similitude must not be accepted in a superficial sense, as a mere encomiastic decla-

ration of the monarch's strength: for then he would have seen the propriety of comparing him rather with a lion: but as a signification of gentle nature and a provident consideration of his subjects. For the excellence of the bull is not confined to a noble generosity of spirit, nor does he exert his force for selfish purposes, as the lion, and boar and eagle (*b*), in pursuit of other animals, with strength conferred upon them for the sustentation of their being; so as to form a model rather of arbitrary despotism than kingly government: whilst the bull, to my apprehension, is evidently holden forth to kings, as a pattern for their conduct. He takes in peace the food, which is easily attainable, and presents itself before him, without extortion and injustice. The necessary materials of his support are supplied to him, as to kings in affluence and prosperity, with an unfailing exuberance: and he rules his species with a benevolent, if I may be indulged in this expression, and a providential sway: sometimes, conducting to their pasturage, and sometimes, when a wild beast appears, disdaining flight, engaging in the front of the whole herd, succouring the weak, and exerting all his prudence and solicitude to preserve their main body from those wild and formidable ravagers: as a ruler and a monarch in reality, worthy of that highest and most honourable station among men, would

exert his own powers on a similar emergency. Nay, if another herd encroach upon them, he struggles for victory with the leader, to evince his own superiority and the superiority of his herd. Moreover, to abstain from hostility with men, and yet, with powers that qualify for sovereignty and preeminence over the irrational creation, to admit the controul of higher natures; and with strength and spirit and ferocity, that disdain subordination, to acquiesce in the guidance of rationality and intelligence; such docility how can we hesitate to regard, as a precept and document for a judicious sovereign? as an admonition, to repose his title to supremacy on a superiority of accomplishments to his fellow-men, which is the just and natural investiture of monarchy: to preserve the mass of his subjects by provident consultations for their welfare, and, if occasion require, by fighting in their defence, and preserving them from savage and lawless tyrants: to contend with the monarchs of other nations for the prize of virtue, and to extend a dominion, if it be possible, over other nations, without limit, for the promotion of their happiness; but under a dutiful submission to the Gods, as careful shepherds, and an honourable deference to those better and more happy natures, from a conviction of their uncontrollable and supreme authority: exhibiting himself as the first and

most precious property of the first and greatest Sovereign, and, in the next degree, his subjects (c).

As prudent shepherds, whenever a bull of wild and ferocious temper rules with præternatural licentiousness, despising and abusing his own herd, and recedes himself before a plotting enemy, whilst he exposes the feeble multitude in the front of danger; and, without reason for severity, indulges an audacious insolence, at one time bellowing in an accent shrill and menacing, at another, goring with his pointed horns an unopposing subject, from an ostentatious display of strength on the feeble and pacific, not suffering the general herd to pasture in tranquillity through alarm and apprehension of him: in a case like this, the owners and the herdsmen have usually removed the leader from his authority and place, as an unfit and inexpedient conductor of the herd; but him, who is gentle to the heifers in his train, spirited and fearless to beasts of prey, respectable and dignified, with ability to secure and direct the herd, compliant and obedient to the herdsmen;—him, I say, they leave unmolested in his station even to extreme old-age, though his vigour and his activity be no more: exactly in the same manner, the Deities also and Jove, the great King of Kings, in his capa-

city of guardian and common father to men and Gods, whatever ruler among mankind becomes violent, unjust and lawless, not exerting his superiour strength against enemies, but against friends and subjects ; insatiable of pleasures, unsatisfied with wealth, prompt of suspicion, implacable in resentment, quick to calumnies, unpersuadable by reasons, crafty, insidious, mean, self-willed, an aggrandiser of the vicious, envying the good, not susceptible of instruction, regarding no man as sufficiently respectable to be his friend, and friendless in reality :—such a king Jove displaces and discards with disgrace and contumely ; as derogatory to the royal dignity, nor worthy to participate with himself the honour and the name of Sovereign. Upon these principles, I presume, proceeded his treatment of Phalaris, Apollodorus (*d*), and many others of the same character with them : whereas, the manly and philanthropic prince, well-disposed to his subjects, anxiously contending for the palm of excellence with the most meritorious of mankind, a reformer of injustice, an assistant of the feeble, a reverential votary of Virtue,—He conducts, for the most part, to a good old age (*e*) : as we collect from the instances of Cyrus, and Deioces the Mede, Agathyrus the Scythian, and Leucon, with many of the Spartan kings, and several of the earlier Ægyptian

monarchs (*f*). If, however, the irresistible urgency of fate should accelerate their dissolution, He at least vouchsafes them a good memorial and an eternity of benediction from the whole human race: as he immortalised Hercules, said Alexander in conclusion; Hercules, our progenitor, and reputed the son of Jupiter for his eminence in virtue.

Philip was delighted with this discourse. It is not, says he, for nothing, that we set so high a value upon Aristotle, and have indulged him with the reestablishment of Stagira, his native city. For the man certainly deserves both great and many favours, if he instill, whether by his expositions of Homer's poetry, or through any other vehicle of instruction, such precepts into you on the subject of KINGLY GOVERNMENT (*g*).

DIOGENES,

OR

ON ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT.

WHEN Diogenes of Sinope fled from his native country into Greece (*a*), he lived sometimes at Corinth, and sometimes at Athens, in imitation, as he jocularly said, of the Persian king ; for he also during winter resided at Babylon, at Susa, or among the Bactrians, in the most temperate latitudes of Asia ; but spent his summer at Ecbatana in Media, where the atmosphere is always cool, and of a temperature in the warmest months like that of Babylon in the coldest. After this example our philosopher accommodated his residence to the change of seasons : for Attica has no mountains of any magnitude, nor is pervaded, like Thessaly and Peloponnesus, by running streams ; with a light atmosphere and loomy soil, so that rain seldom falls, and the waters are absorbed : and the whole country is almost encompassed by the sea ; whence indeed it derived it's

name (*b*): whilst Athens itself lies low, with a southern aspect; as appears by the necessity of a southern wind to waft a vessel from Sunium into the Piræus (*c*). To this cause the mildness of the winter there must be attributed. But the summer-heats in Corinth, as the city is embosomed in the sea, are mitigated by pleasant breezes, which are almost constantly blowing there from every quarter of the sky: and the mountain, on which the citadel is builded, with an inclination towards Lechæum (*d*) and the North, throws it's shadow on the city. Nor could Ecbatana and Babylon contend with the beauty of these Græcian cities, or the Persian palaces with the more commodious structures of the gymnasium at Corinth (*e*), the temple (*f*) and the portico at Athens. In magnitude they were superiour, though the circumference of Athens, including the Piræus and the intervening walls, equals two hundred stadia, and was once completely stocked with inhabitants; which amounts to half the size of Babylon, even if the vast dimensions of that city may be credited. With respect to the beauty of the harbours, the statues and paintings, the gold and silver and brass, the coin, the utensils and furniture of the houses, the abundant superiority of the Græcian cities was incontestable: for his part, however, he minded these things but little.

The distance of these cities made a long journey for Diogenes on his removals ; so that he past a considerable portion of his summers and his winters on the road : otherwise, after lodging at the half-way in Megara, on the next day he could easily reach Athens, through Eleusis, if he chose, or through Salamis, by a shorter road, but more dreary stages : so that, on the whole, he enjoyed greater advantages and a truer luxury, than the Persian monarch, from the superiour accommodations of his residence ! With such a vein of pleasantry was this subject treated by our philosopher.

It was his practice, however, to convict the mistaken sentiments of those people, who regarded with admiration the riches and reputed happiness of the Persian emperour ; by shewing, that part of his enjoyments were frivolous, and part within the reach of the poorest man alive : and, with respect to himself, that he was by no means negligent, as some simpletons supposed, of his bodily comforts and condition ; who fancied forsooth, because he was exposed to the open air, to cold, and thirst, that he had no concern about his health and life ; whereas, with all these hardships, he enjoyed better health and lived more comfortably, than those, who were constantly cramming themselves with victuals, staid perpetually in the

house, and could not endure the least exposure to cold and heat. A more pleasurable perception of warmth resulted from his discipline, a keener relish for his food, and more delight in the genial seasons of the year. Hence he was regaled, on the approach of summer, by the mild relaxation of the atmosphere; and saw its departure without regret, as a deliverance from excessive heat. By accompanying the seasons also in their revolution, and by a gradual experiment of their operation, the transition to their several excesses was attended by no sensations of uneasiness. To fire, or shade, or shelter, he seldom had recourse, because he anticipated their uses by antecedent discipline: not as the generality of men, because they abound in fuel and in cloaths, and have houses for their dwellings, run instantly from the air, and incapacitate their bodies from supporting the severity of winter: and in consequence of enjoying a roomy house in summer, with as much wine as they choose to drink, pass through life unexposed to the sun, and unacquainted with the genuine thirst of nature. By an abstinence from all bodily labour and occupation, they contract a delicacy truly feminine, whilst their souls are overladen with surfeiting and somnolence: and to rectify these inconveniences, they devise the additional expedients of baths and pernicious viands (g). In the

course of a single day, they want cool ventilation and warm cloathing, stove and fire: and, what is the most absurd extravagance of all, they covet both thirst and hunger (*h*). From a most intemperate licentiousness, they anticipate the spontaneous impulse of natural inclination, and seek out unamiable and disgusting sensualities.

But Diogenes uniformly suffered hunger and thirst to precede his meal, and esteemed them as the most suitable and pungent sauce. Hence he regaled with keener relish on simple flour, than others on the most costly bread; and found a sweeter taste in running water, than others in the luscious wines of Thasus. He laughed heartily at those, who past by a spring, when they were thirsty, and enquired where they could buy at any rate some Lesbian or Chian wine (*i*): and used to say, that such men were much more senseless than the beasts, who never went by a fountain or pure rivulet, when they were thirsty, nor, when hungry, abstained from the tenderest leaves and herbage fitted to assuage their appetite. As for his dwelling, he found the most elegant and wholesome houses in every city set open to him, the temples and the schools for gymnastic exercises: and one garment was sufficient for him both in summer and in winter, as he had accustomed

himself to endure all the changes of the weather. His feet he never covered; not perceiving more delicacy in them than in the eyes and face. But these parts, though the tenderest by nature, supported the cold without any difficulty, because they were constantly exposed, from an impossibility in men of walking with bandages about their eyes, as about their feet.

He compared rich men to new-born infants, always in want of swaddling cloaths (*k*): and was accustomed in a variety of ways to ridicule fantastical and senseless people for their enormous prodigality in the purchase of unprofitable and frivolous indulgences, whilst real enjoyments were attainable at no expence, and accessible to all. But he lavisht the most unsparing contemptuous ridicule on the sophists, for affecting a most solemn gravity, and arrogating a character for wisdom superiour to the rest of men.

It was also a common saying with him, that men from their effeminacy led a more wretched life than even the brute creation; which, by taking water for their drink, vegetables for their food; by continuing, for the greater part of the year, naked, unsheltered, and without the use of fire; lived out the allotted term of

nature, if no violence assailed them, in strength and uninterrupted health, in no want of physicians and their medicines: whereas men, with all their anxiety and love of life, with all their multifarious contrivances for the procrastination of dissolution, were never able for the most part to reach old age, but past their lives surrounded by distempers of nameless multiplicity; whilst the Earth itself was insufficient for the supply of physic, and Steel and Fire were called to her aid. Nor could the skill even of Chiron (*l*), of Æsculapius and his disciples, with predictions of the soothsayer and purgations of the priests, avail for their relief, amidst such intemperance of licentiousness and vice. Under a pretence also of uniting in societies for mutual defence from ravagers without, they became ravagers themselves, and practisers of every enormity; as if they had formed communities for this purpose only: and with this reference, he presumed, Mythology represented Jupiter chastising Prometheus, for the discovery of fire, and it's communication to mankind, as the primary occasion and incentive to a life of effeminacy and voluptuousness: because it was not possible for Jupiter to hate mankind (*m*), or grudge them the enjoyment of any blessing.

In reply to those, who alleged the imprac-

ticability to man of a life resembling that of other animals, from the tenderness and nakedness of their flesh, with no covering of hair, like the generality of beasts, with no feathers, no envelopment of strong and rigid skin; he was accustomed to attribute their extreme tenderness to their own mismanagement, in shunning for the most part both sun and cold. That no difficulty could be reasonably alleged from the bareness of the human body, he used to demonstrate by the example of frogs, and a variety of other creatures, much tenderer and barer than ourselves: some of which were able not only to endure the atmosphere, but pass their winters even in the coldest water. He would remark also, that the eyes and face of men themselves required no covering (*n*).

He maintained universally, that no animal was born in a place, where he could not live: else, how could the first men have been preserved, without fire, without habitations, without cloathing, with no food but the spontaneous produce of unassisted nature? The mischievous ingenuity of succeeding generations devised contrivances of great variety, but of little benefit: for men did not employ their sagacity in the promotion of fortitude and justice, but of pleasure. In this pursuit, they created for themselves a life of uneasiness and labour;

and, with a semblance of comfort and preservation, destroyed their lives in the most wretched manner by a superabundance of solicitude and care. Of this preposterous infatuation Prometheus was a proper emblem; whom the poets fable to be nailed on a rock, with an eagle preying upon his liver (*o*).

Under these convictions, all articles of great expence, of vexatious and operose provision, he disallowed, and demonstrated their pernicious effects upon the user; yet forbade none of those bodily conveniences, which may be procured without difficulty and molestation, whether to alleviate cold or hunger or other craving appetites, but manifested by his own practice a preference to healthy situations before sickly, and to such as were more tolerable than others through all the vicisitudes of seasons. Nor was he less attentive to a plentiful supply of wholesome food, and a moderate portion of apparel: but kept himself aloof from public business, from law-suits, from animosities, from wars and political conspiracies. The life of the Gods was the principal model of his practice: for Homer characterizes them as *living at their ease* (*p*); with reference to the laborious and troublesome condition of mankind. Wild animals also, he said, conducted themselves like him: as storks (*q*) quitted the

excess of summer heat for a temperate atmosphere, and continued there during the pleasantness of the season; then retreated in flocks before the face of winter. Cranes too migrate against the seed time, bearing the cold but indifferently well; and for the sake of sustenance. As for stags and hares, they descended in the winter from their mountains into the plains and valleys, withdrawing themselves to stations pleasant and sheltered from the winds; but, during the heats, they retire into the woods and the northernmost extremities of the country.

When he saw the rest of mankind harassing themselves all their lives, full of insidious contrivances against each other, in the midst of ten thousand evils, never able to enjoy tranquillity, not even on their sacred festivals, in which a general suspension of private hostilities is proclaimed; when he saw them doing and suffering all these mischiefs for no other purpose than to live, and labouring under extreme solicitude, lest what are called necessities should ever fail them; and contriving, with additional anxiety, how to leave an abundance of riches to their children; it was to him a subject of perpetual astonishment, how he, the only individual of all mankind exempt from these vexatious occupations and disquietudes,

should pass through the world, without attracting the least attention to his distinguished happiness.

In this view of the subject, he no longer condescended to compare himself with the Persian monarch: there was too great an interval between them. That most wretched of human beings was apprehending poverty in the midst of so much wealth; was alarmed at diseases, but unable to abstain from what produced them; was horribly afraid of death, with suspicions that all were plotting against his life, even his children and his brothers. Hence he took no pleasure in his meals, whilst the most palatable dishes were set before him; nor could wine distill upon his senses a temporary oblivion of his torments. Not a single day could he pass in comfort, and without enduring the most terrible sensations: when sober, intoxication was his wish, that he might be rescued from his uneasiness; when intoxicated, he gave himself up for lost, from his inability to ward off violence. If awake, he courted sleep, as a forgetfulness of fear; if asleep, he started up with sudden horror from the murderer in his dream (*r*). As for his golden plane-tree, and the buildings of Semiramis, and the walls of Babylon, they could furnish no alleviation of his distress. What, moreover, was the

very summit of absurdity, whilst unarmed men were a terrour to him, he trusted his life to the fidelity of a military guard ; and all, who came into his presence, were searched for weapons, though he lived surrounded by the weapons of his soldiery : so that he fled from unarmed to armed men, and again from the armed to the unarmed : for he was defended from the populace by his body-guard ; and from his body-guard, by eunuchs. Thus, without confidence and without refuge, there was no man, with whom he could pass a single day disengaged from terrour. His meat and drink were a cause of perpetual suspicion, so that previous tasters were employed ; as scouts are sent before in a road infested by an enemy. Nay, even on his dearest relatives could he not repose with comfort and security ; neither on wife, nor children. Yet, though royalty was accompanied by such vexations and infelicities, he had neither inclination nor power to dismiss the incumbrance from him ; whereas all other calamities of men admit some consolation in the prospect of a temporary respite. The prisoner expects his liberty at some future period ; to an exile there is always a possibility of return to his native country ; the sick entertain hopes of recovery to the last moment of their lives ; but for this monarch no means of deliverance can be found. They too, whom For-

tune has afflicted by the death of friends, well know, that Time will at length mitigate their sorrow ; but his disquietudes crowd upon him with perpetual encrease,

Nor is it easy for a tyrant to attain old-age ; because the generality of his subjects have either been ill-treated by him, or hold him in contempt, whilst his infirmities disable him from self-defence. Now all these calamities are more calculated in their nature to alarm under expectation, than afflict in experiment ; whether poverty, or exile, or imprisonment, or disgrace. As for death itself, if a man be able to annihilate the apprehension of it, nothing formidable is left ; but this apprehension is so distressing, as to have induced many men to anticipate the catastrophe (*s*). Thus, in a storm at sea, some have laid violent hands upon themselves, without staying for the sinking of the vessel ; and some by their own sword have prevented the sword of any enemy, though this, they well knew, was in itself the extremity of suffering. But this species of disquietude is perpetually haunting tyrants, by day and by night. A condemned criminal sees before him an appointed hour, that will terminate his sufferings ; but their time of dissolution is uncertain, whether it will shortly come, or whether it be already present ; nor is the smallest

interval exempted from this fear, but an equal necessity of apprehension is upon them, at their meals, and at their sacrifices to the Gods. If at any time they should relax in pleasure, and indulge their love even with their greatest favourite, Death is ever uppermost in their thoughts, as intended for them, perhaps, by the fondest object of their affection: this distressing fear pursues them to their banquet and their bed. On this account, a tyrant, I should suppose, would deem that his most happy moment, in which he feels the stroke of the assassin, as a deliverance from his severest torment. But, which is the strongest circumstance of all, other men are sensible, that their incurable calamities can be but of short duration, unless self-destruction be made impossible; whilst tyrants, though environed by the greatest evils, mistakenly suppose themselves in the possession of the greatest bliss, as the objects of admiration from mankind. Such ignorant infatuation has God associated with that condition for it's everlasting torment!

Moreover, to men in prosperity life is preferable, and death for the same reason is more unwelcome: as the unfortunate, on the other hand, support life with greater uneasiness, and hold themselves in constant readiness for their departure: but tyrants in both these cases are

unhappier than other men ; for they live more unpleasantly than those, who are ever so solicitous to die, and yet fear death, as if their condition in this life were supremely happy. When those pleasures also, which are enjoyed but seldom, produce the most exquisite delight (*t*), but by frequent use become distasteful ; when miseries again are rendered insupportable by perpetual continuance : both these conditions of pleasure and of misery are uninterruptedly present to the tyrant ; uneasiness without cessation, and pleasure without perception of enjoyment. The rich are dreaded by him for their power ; the poor, for their desire of riches.

To kings alone no gratitude is paid for the favours, which they confer, because such favours are thought inadequate ; and those, who fail in the attainment of their requests, are converted into most bitter enemies : not to mention, that men in proportion to their opulence are objects of envy, however justly that opulence may have been acquired : tyrants of course excite envy above all mankind. Add to this the necessity of gratifying all around him, if he mean to shun instantaneous destruction : but all cannot easily be gratified, without robbing others : these are converted into enemies, while the objects of his favour are suspected,

and eager to abandon him. Thus, what is distant, he fears for that very reason; and what is near, because it is about his person. From the remote, he is expecting war; from those at hand, conspiracy. Peace he regards as inexpedient, because it gives leisure to his subjects; and war, because they are necessarily burthened with supplies, and harassed by military hardships. Thus, in war, his affections are set on peace; and, when peace is accomplished, he immediately employs himself in contriving war.

In a state of public plenty, tyrants dread the insolence of the common people; in a time of scarcity, their resentment. They see no safety for themselves, whether abroad or at home, in public or in the palace; neither can they frequent any place with confidence: all are beset with plot and treachery.

Every monarch of this kind is always ruminating on the assassinations and conspiracies against tyrants, through the whole series of former ages: all which he supposes to be preparing for himself, and thus lives in a perpetual apprehension of enduring all those deaths of his predecessors. He looks round, and turns himself on all sides, with unremitting horror, and is guarding every moment against the blow, which he believes ready to fall upon him from

all quarters. Yet shame and fear prevent those precautions, which he deems requisite for his preservation ; as an appearance of apprehension in a tyrant generates conspiracies from a contempt of his timidity. His life, accordingly, resembles that of a prisoner in a narrow cell, with swords suspended over him, and fixed round him, in contact with his skin. These swords, however, not only environ the body of a tyrant, but his soul likewise ; so that Tantalus in the infernal regions, who is represented with a large stone hanging over him, lives more at ease than he ; because free from the fear of death : whereas a tyrant suffers in life the torment of Tantalus, who is dead already.

Such tyrants indeed, as domineer over a single city, or a small territory, may escape possibly from their dominion, and live whithersoever they choose to go : no man, however, loves a tyrant, but hates, and suspects him, and is ready to surrender him to his injured subjects : but to them, whose sovereignty extends over many cities and nations, and an immeasurable tract of country, like the Persian monarch, though they may acquire at length a conviction of their miseries, and some indulgent God may draw the veil of ignorance from their understandings, escape is utterly impracticable. Nay, he would not expect to

live securely, though his body were changed into brass or steel ; but even then, to be cut in pieces, or molten in the furnace (*u*).

If men converse with him under no restraint, he is angry, and alarmed by this freedom : if they cringe and crouch before him, that servility of homage excites suspicion. Liberal intercourse is regarded as an insult ; humility, as a stratagem. From reproach he feels much more uneasiness than others ; because a tyrant truly is reviled ! and praise communicates no pleasure, as the suspicious offspring of insincerity. Of those most valuable and honourable acquisitions he is wholly destitute, good-will and friendship. From no man can he hope for kindness : for a keeper will sooner contract an affection for the ferocious lion, than servants and courtiers for a tyrant.

In the mean time, I, concludes Diogenes, go whither I please by night, and by day pass alone, if need be, even through a camp without a flag of truce, and the midst of assassin-robbers : there is no enemy to molest me upon my journeys. If all the gold, and all the silver, and all the brass, should disappear, not the slightest inconvenience will accrue to me : and, if every house were laid prostrate by an earthquake, as once in Sparta ; if all sheep should

be destroyed, and occasion an universal scarcity of apparel ; if, not only in Attica, but through Bœotia and Peloponnesus and Thessaly, a famine should prevail, as in former ages ; my comforts and accommodations would remain unimpaired. How can I become more naked, or more houseless, than at present ? I find sufficient sustenance in apples, millet, barley, tares, the cheapest of all grains, beach-nuts on the hearth, and the fruit of the cornel-tree, with which Homer makes Circe regale the companions of Ulysses (*v*) ; a food, capable of supporting even beasts of the greatest magnitude (*zv*).

DIOGENES,
OR
CONCERNING SERVANTS.

AS Diogenes was once passing from Corinth to Athens, he met an acquaintance on the road, and enquired whither he was going: not like the generality of men, who ask such questions, and shew by their manner at the same time an entire indifference to the welfare of their friends, walking away as soon as they receive an answer; but, as physicians enquire into the modes of life pursued by their patients, with a view to counsel them; enjoining some things, and forbidding others. So Diogenes enquired of his friend, how he did; who replied: I am on my way to Delphos, O! Diogenes; to consult the God. My intention was to go by Bœotia; but the servant, which I brought with me, has run away; so that I am now on the road to Corinth, with an expectation of meeting with him there. So then, said Diogenes, with his customary purpose of instruction; you are going, most ridiculous mortal!

to hold intercourse with a God, who were unable to maintain your intercourse with a slave. Can you expect, then, with this inability of address, less difficulty and danger in your projected communication, than in your former? And with what view are you searching for the lad? Was he not worthless? To the last degree, replied the man: for, without any injury from me, or rather after receiving many kindnesses, he thought ill of me; had he thought well, he would not have left me; doubtless, Diogenes! from a depraved disposition. So then, continued Diogenes, he thought ill of you, and ran away, that you might not treat him harshly: and will you seek him, when you think him worthless? For it is plain, that you are exposing yourself voluntarily to his ill-treatment. Are not vicious men hurtful to those, who entertain and employ them, whether they be Phrygians (*a*) or Athenians, whether slaves or free? Now no man looks after a good-for-nothing dog, if he run away; but even drives him out, if he return: yet, should he get rid of a worthless fellow, he cannot rest contented, but must give himself infinite trouble by writing to friends, taking journies, and spending money, to recover him. Now which, do you suppose, have occasioned more mischief? vicious dogs, or vicious men? Undoubtedly we are told of a single man, Actæon, who was destroyed by

vicious dogs run mad ; but no tongue can enumerate the multitudes, that have been destroyed by vicious men, both of private individuals, of kings, and of whole communities: some by domestic servants, some by soldiers and lifeguards, some by fictitious friends ; and some, even by sons, and brothers, and wives. Ought not, therefore, the deliverance from a worthless man to be esteemed by every one, to whom it happens, a very lucrative adventure? And must we seek him, and pursue him? as foolishly, as if we should strive to recall into our bodies a disease, from which we had been delivered.

The man replied : Your observations are perfectly just, Diogenes : but it is no easy matter to restrain one's desire of revenge for an injury inflicted (*b*). This servant, without any ill usage on my part, has run away, as you see : he was put to no servile labour in the house, like the rest ; but was well-fed, and had no employment, except to attend on me, when I went from home. Observe, said Diogenes, how you pretend to have done him no injury, when you have injured him as much as possible, by maintaining him at home in idleness and ignorance. Want of employment, and inactivity, ruin foolish people more than every thing besides. He perceived, doubtless, that you were spoiling him, and ran away very properly to

procure some employment, and to prevent himself from growing worse and worse by sleeping and eating and living lazily. Do you consider that man as a small offender, who makes another more useless and corrupt? Or ought not he to be run away from, as the most insidious and dangerous enemy among all mankind? What now, said he, will you do, if you happen to have no other shoes, and those, which you are wearing, squeeze and cut your feet? Will you not take them off as speedily as possible, and go unshod? Or, if they should come loose of their own accord, would you tie them on again, and pinch your foot? Well then, just as the unshod walk more at ease, than they, who are shod uncomfortably; so many people without servants experience less restraint and vexation, than others who maintain numbers in their house.

Do you not observe the rich, what troubles they derive upon themselves from this source? Some waiting on their servants in sickness, and requiring physicians with other attendants to continue by their side (for slaves in general neglect themselves, and pay no attention to their own disorders; partly from a supine insensibility, partly from a reflection, that their masters will be greater losers than their selves, if the worst should happen): some flogging them

daily, others chaining them, and others pursuing the runaways. Neither can they leave home with comfort, nor whenever their inclination prompts them; nor, if they stay at home, can they live in peace: and, what is the most laughable of all, they are sometimes more in want of people to wait upon them, than the poor, and such as have no servant: exactly like some insects, which, as you must have noticed, with a multitude of feet proceed with the slowest motion of all their species.

Are you not aware, that Nature has furnished every man with a body fitted for it's own services? with feet for walking, hands for working and supporting the other members, eyes for seeing, and ears for hearing. The belly also hath she fashioned of moderate dimensions; nor is more food requisite to a man than what he is enabled to furnish for himself: and this supply constitutes the just measure of sufficiency, propriety, and health. As, therefore, that hand is proportionably weaker, which has more fingers than their usual number, and we deem a person defective in his make, when a supernumerary finger is growing to his hand, which renders him incapable of using the rest in a proper manner: so, when many feet and many hands and many bellies are accumulated on a man, certainly he gains no additional

strength or additional capacity for such acquirements, as are the suitable acquirements of his nature ; but loses some portion of his usefulness and dexterity. You now, proceeds Diogenes, have a maintenance to seek for one man only ; before, for two : now, if sickness intervene, you have one patient only to attend ; then you were necessitated to nurse him also in his illness. When you are at home now, you are under no apprehension of being plundered by him ; nor, when you sleep, are you haunted by the fear of assassination from your servant.

All these things you should consider. Had you a wife at that time, she would give herself no trouble to wait upon you, whilst she saw a servant maintained for that purpose ; and she must have given you uneasiness by this opportunity of self-indulgence, and by occasional altercations with that servant : now she will be freer herself from molestation, and more assiduous in her attendance upon you.

Besides, among servants, children are corrupted from their very infancy, contracting habits of laziness and a domineering temper, whilst they have servants to wait upon them, and inferiours to despise : but, when children are unattended, they thrive in manliness and

strength, and learn from the earliest period a dutiful consideration of their fathers.

Nay, Diogenes! but I am a poor man: and, if I find it inexpedient to keep this servant, I can make money by parting with him. Are you not then ashamed? replies Diogenes: first for imposing upon the purchaser by selling him a worthless servant; because you must conceal the truth, or nobody will buy him: in the next place, if a man put off a bad commodity, as a coat or a piece of furniture, a distempered or unserviceable beast, the bargain is void, and the wares are returned on his hands: so that you will receive no benefit from such a sale. Or, granting that you cajole the purchaser, and he never detects the bad qualities of your servant, are you not afraid, that the money may produce some mischief? Perhaps, you will purchase with it a still worse servant, if you light upon a keener chapman than yourself: or, perhaps, you will expend it in something else, that will bring a calamity upon you. For money is not in all instances advantageous to it's possessor; but creates more mischiefs and more miseries to men, especially where Good-Sense is wanting, than Poverty herself. Will you not then exert all your efforts for the attainment of that quality, which will enable you to make a beneficial application of all contin-

gencies, and will transfuse utility and honour into every action of your life? Or will you rather, in preference to Wisdom, occupy yourself about the pursuit of money, or land, or slaves, or yokes of oxen, or ships, or houses? to which you will enslave yourself; which will produce great uneasiness and much unprofitable labour; which will engross your thoughts through life, and terminate in fruitless vanity.

Do you not see how these wild animals and birds before you lead lives more free from trouble than mankind, enjoy more pleasure, more uninterrupted health, superiour strength, and a longevity commensurate to the utmost capacities of their nature? Yet they are destitute of servants and the intelligent rationality of man: all their other infelicities, however, are compensated by this single unparalleled advantage, a want of property.

I think now, Diogenes! of letting my servant go, unless accident should bring him in my way.—Yes verily! rejoins Diogenes: as much as to say; I shall take no pains to look after a horse that bites or kicks: but, if I should meet with him accidentally, I will put myself in his way to be kicked and bitten!

But, to abandon that subject, why will you

not allow me to consult the God?—Did I then forbid you to consult him, if you be able? I gave no such prohibition: I stated only the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of using either God or man, or even one's self, without a proper knowledge of the subject: for this attempt, not regulated by knowledge, is the most noxious enterprise imaginable. Do you think now, that a man, unacquainted with a horse, could use one properly?—By no means.—If, however, he should resolutely determine on a trial, mischief, I presume, will be a more probable consequence, than good?—Most certainly.—Again: can one, unversed in the use of dogs, be supposed able to employ them properly? Is not the advantage, derivable from any thing, it's proper use?—So it appears to me.—No man, therefore, can be said to use that, which injures him?—Most assuredly.—He, consequently, who attempts to use dogs without a knowledge of their properties, will be injured by them (c)?—Most probably.—He will accordingly have no use of them: for use cannot consist with injury. Nor is this the case with dogs and horses only, but with oxen and birds: nay, what may surprise you more, an unskilful person can use not so much as an ass, or sheep. Or are you not sensible, that, whilst some have reaped benefit, others have suffered loss, from the occupations of tending

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sheep, and driving asses?—I am.—Is it not, therefore, a necessary consequence for the unskilful to be injured, and the skilful to be profited, by the management of asses, and swine, and geese, and every other animal?—I confess it.—What? Must we not extend this observation to all sorts of implements? Could a stranger to music use a harp? Or, if he made the attempt, would he not expose himself to ridicule; and, in addition to the failure of his purpose, spoil the harp, and destroy it's tones? Suppose again, that another should venture to use a flute, who had never practised that instrument, and should come forward to play upon the stage: will he not suffer for his presumption by a pelting from the audience, and a broken flute?—If one, who is no pilot, should undertake the management of the helm, will he not quickly upset the vessel, to his own destruction, and the destruction of the passengers? Is the use, moreover, of a spear, or shield, adviseable to the cowardly and unexperienced? Or will they not throw away, by this attempt at using them, both their armour and their lives?

I entirely assent, Diogenes! to every one of your conclusions: but the sun is setting on the multiplicity of your successive questions. Well! said he; and which is better? To see the sun,

go down, whilst we listen to salutary counsel; or to proceed on our way in vain? Generally speaking, a provident direction of affairs is difficult, where experience is wanting; and the mischief will prove proportionate to the magnitude of the concern. Does the use of an ass and a horse appear to you exactly similar?—How should it?—Of man and God?—It would be unbecoming to assert this, Diogenes!—Can any man make use of another, if he be ignorant of himself?—How is that possible? he replied. —He then, who is ignorant of man, cannot use men?—He cannot.—Nor, I presume, can one, who does not know himself, use himself? For you have heard undoubtedly of that sentence at Delphos, KNOW THYSELF (*d*).—I have. —And does not the God manifestly dictate this maxim to all mankind, because unacquainted with themselves?—It seems so.—You of course are among this number?—Doubtless.—Even you then, it appears, are ignorant of yourself? —I must confess it.—But, as you are ignorant of yourself, you are ignorant of man; nor can use man, of whom you are ignorant: and yet, though unable to use man, you are attempting God; whom we allow to be altogether more excellent, and of more difficult use, than man.

But do you fancy now, that Apollo employs the Attic, or the Doric, mode of speech? Or

that the Gods have the same dialect with men ? For in reality their dialects differ so entirely, that the river Xanthus in Troy is called by men Scamander ; the bird Chalcis, Cumindis ; and a certain place in the front of the city, which the Trojans named Batieia, is styled by the Gods the tomb of Murrina (*c*). Hence also the oracles became obscure, and have already deceived many. Homer, perhaps, might have gone to Delphos with safety to consult Apollo, as he was in possession of a glossary, which explained the language of the divinity ; if in reality he did know all their terms, and had not a mere smattering of a few : as a man, who is acquainted with two or three words in the Persian, Median, or Assyrian language, easily imposes on the ignorant. But are not you fearful of misconceiving the intention of the God ? As Laius, we are told, came to Delphos, and requested the God to give him children. The oracle advised him not to desire children ; and even to destroy any that might be born. So senseless, however, was Laius, as to disobey both these injunctions : he had a child, and he brought it up. The consequences were, his own death, and the ruin of his family ; because he was unable to use properly the god Apollo : otherwise, after hearing such an oracle, he would never have exposed Œdipus ; nor would Œdipus, if educated at home, ever have slain

Laius, whom he must then have known to be his father (*f*).

You must have heard also the story of Cræsus the Lydian ; who supposed himself to be most exactly conformable to the God, when he crosst the river Alys, lost his empire, was put in chains, and on the point of being roasted alive in a fire. Now can you deem yourself more intelligent than Cræsus, so opulent a man, and the sovereign of so many people ; who had kept company with Solon and a great variety of other sages ?

You have seen undoubtedly Orestes yourself in tragedies accusing Apollo, and complaining of the God in his frantic fits, for advising him to kill his mother. Can you imagine, however, that this God enjoins any harsh or shameful action on those, who consult his oracle ? But, as I observed, men, unacquainted with the proper use of the God, presume to act under their ignorance, and then accuse him instead of their own folly.

You, therefore, if you can be persuaded by me, will conduct yourself with caution ; and first endeavour to gain the knowledge of yourself. When this knowledge is attained, consult the God, if you please ; but, in my judge-

ment, you will want no oracle, if you arrive at a due degree of understanding (*g*). For consider: if he should order you to write and read properly, when you were ignorant of your letters, you would not be able; but, if you knew your letters, you could both write and read as you ought to do, without any injunction from the God. In the same manner, were he to advise any other undertaking, of which you had acquired no knowledge, you could not put his advice into execution. Nor will you be able, therefore, to live properly without a knowledge of this requisite, though you should trouble Apollo every day with your visits, and he should devote his time to you alone: but, with understanding, you will know of yourself what ought to be done, and the mode of doing it. Œdipus indeed never went to Delphos, but he consulted the prophet Tiresias (*h*), and through his directions brought upon himself great calamities from his own ignorance: for he thus learnt his connection with his mother; and, when it was his wisdom to conceal the matter, or make such marriages lawful among the Thebans, he publicly proclaimed it; and then lamented with most hideous and indignant outcry, that “he was the father and brother of the
“ same children, the husband and son of the
“ same wife!” whereas our domestic fowls, and dogs, and asses, see nothing horrible in

this practice; nor yet the Persians, though esteemed the most respectable people in all Asia. After this, he put out his own eyes, and wandered about in a state of blindness; as if he had not wandered enough already with his eyes open.

You then, Diogenes! I perceive, regard *Œdipus* as the most inconsiderately stupid of all human beings; yet the Greeks think him, not a fortunate man indeed, but of preeminent sagacity: for he alone was able to solve the riddle of the Sphinx (*k*). Upon this Diogenes animadverted with a laugh: Did he then solve the riddle? The Sphinx directed him to find out *man*: but he neither told nor knew what man is; and supposed the question to be solved by a mere suggestion of the term *man*. As if any one, who was asked the character of *Socrates*, should think that the mere name *Socrates* constituted an adequate answer to the question. Now I have heard one assert, that Sphinx means Ignorance: but this ignorance has been the ruin of the *Bæotians* both in ancient and modern times, and has debarred always this most sottish nation of mankind from knowledge (*l*). Others have arrived at some slight apprehension of their own stupidity: but *Œdipus*, from a conceit of his superiour wisdom from baffling the subtleties of the Sphinx, and from the

admiration of the Thebans, proportionately aggravated his own destruction. For ignorant people, under a strong persuasion of their wisdom, are much the most wretched of mankind: and in this class must the sophists of our days be ranked (*m*).

ON GRIEF.

THAT many men should become voluntary subjects to Pleasure is by no means unaccountable ; her bewitching blandishments engage their allegiance : but acquiescence in a slavish subjection to Grief is totally irrational and strange. Under the pain and anguish of torture the most severe, we continue with her ; nor admit that Reason, who would set us free, and rescue us from our torments. Yet, what is more abject than a man in sorrow ? What spectacle so degrading ? For this affection apparently reaches even to the body, by contracting it, and rendering it a gloomy and unsightly object. Then, not only to abandon ourselves to this corrupter of the intellect, but to superinduce an exhibition of external devices also, black apparel, wringings of the hands, and sittings in the dust, so that the mind itself is compelled in some measure by these contrivances never to relinquish it's uneasiness, but to be constantly brooding on it's sufferings, under a persuasion, that no deliverance can be effected, since some fresh occasion of sorrow is per-

petually presented to their eyes:—is not this the excess of folly? For either the death of a relation, the sickness of some domestic or of ourselves, loss of reputation or of fortune, disappointment of purpose, immoderate engagements, danger, a thousand other incommodities, occur in life; some of which, as if from necessity, are always present. In short, if they experience a season wholly free from every disquietude, still the expectation of misfortune, and a knowledge of it's possible arrival at any time, takes fast hold on the minds of men so unhappily disposed: on which account, we must not confine ourselves to a specific consolation for every separate affliction; because the uniform wretchedness of human life (*a*) renders this an impracticable task: but we must pluck the passion from our souls; and, under a most resolute determination, that Grief is wholly inexcuseable in a man of understanding, we must live henceforward in a state of freedom from her tyranny, and a fearless disregard of all embarrassments.

In reality none of these things are formidable; but are made so by erroneous persuasions (*b*), and our imbecility. From this cause, the generality of men are constantly recalling to memory any calamity, which has befallen them, though the recollection be attended by uneasi-

ness: like children, who are eager to meddle with fire, after suffering severely from it; and, if not prevented, will certainly meddle with it again. But, as they, who go forth to the battle naked, under an expectation of eluding the weapons directed at them, will derive no benefit from their agility, through the impossibility of guarding against every weapon in their way; and will perceive the necessity of a strong breast-plate, and a complete suit of armour, to repel the weapons, which may strike upon them: so the man, who steps forwards into life, will find himself incapable of evading and preventing every blow of those ten thousand in succession, which Fortune will level at his head, and must feel the expediency of a firm and hardy mind, invulnerable, if possible, and unmoved by calamity; or at least not easily affected, and impressible to the slightest blow: so certainly are frequent stabs, and a multiplicity of wounds, the inevitable portion of mortality! Thus also, if they, whose feet are tender and unworn, walk without shoes, no way will be found so smooth, as to conduct them without pain and bruises; but the least roughness will incommode them: whilst such, as are accustomed to go unshod, will find no inconvenience even in the most rugged road.

Since then our infelicities are so numerous,

what should be our view, but, with an unavoidable perception of misfortune and a tranquil acquiescence under it, to keep ourselves from the most ignominious degradation of humanity, a lazy importunity of petition to the Gods, that this or the other event may not befall us? A conduct not less irrational, than if an unsheltered traveller in the rain should pray to escape every single drop which was falling on him. Now the untowardnesses of Fortune surpass the drops of any shower in number.—Or, what should you think of that mariner, who, instead of attending to the helm, and receiving with propriety the course of incidents, should pray, that no wave might strike upon the vessel (c)?

Come now, vain mortal! if all things else go well with thee, what security hast thou of living till the morrow, without being suddenly snatched away from all this appearance of enjoyment and felicity (d)? In all reason then, the foremost subject of your grief and apprehension should be, The incertitude of human things. But, if you take this also into your consideration, that the term of life is momentary and almost nothing; that the most prosperous and happy have been surprised by death, and that the same termination is fixed for yourself, though your life should be extended to extreme old-age: you will soon acknowledge the ex-

cessive frivolity, the outrageous foolishness, of regarding any possible circumstance, as formidable, as important, or worthy of admiration ; this one excepted. The enjoyment of a single day at least without sorrow, without fear, and similar tormenting passions.

Jason, the fable tells us, made use of a certain efficacy, which Medea communicated to him ; and was thus protected from the dragon, and the bulls with flames issuing from their nostrils. We also must procure this efficacy from the same Medea, who is the emblem of True Wisdom ; and despise in future all the contingencies of mortality. Otherwise, each event will prove fire unto us, and a sleepless dragon. Every man supposes his own misfortune to be the most dreadful and lamentable of all others ; as he thinks his own burthen to be the heaviest. But this only proves the weakness and inefficiency of his body : a stronger man, and more exercised by laborious exertion, would carry the same load with ease (*e*).

ON
IMMODERATE DESIRES.

MOST men think those topics only suitable for discussion, on which no determinate opinions have been framed, that the hearer may receive such information as is calculated to remove his ignorance: but subjects of settled and unanimous persuasion they deem it superfluous to treat. I too, had I observed in ourselves a persevering adherence to just sentiments, and a regularity of correspondent practice, should have spared myself the unnecessary trouble of enforcing with earnestness plain and acknowledged truths. But, when I discover the sources of our uneasiness to be derived less from an ignorance of good and evil, than from a violation of moral principles and a deviation from our convictions; great utility must arise, in my opinion, from a frequent refreshment of the memory by the words of exhortation; that we may conform our conduct to propriety, and substantiate the truth by action. Thus we might observe both the physician and master of the vessel frequently repeating the same in-

junctions to those, who have already heard them, in consequence of neglect and heedlessness: and so in life, a repetition of instruction on the same subject is of service; because the generality of men are acquainted with their duty, but perform it not. For the primary object, even with the sick, is not a knowledge of the remedy, but of it's proper application; this alone can restore their health: nor in other instances is a perception of what is beneficial to life, and what is hurtful, the end of duty, but an exemption from essential errors in our choice and practice. As we see those, who have no disorder in their eyes, unable to keep their hands from that organ, though sensible of the pain, which such a restless propensity occasions; exactly in the same manner, on this subject of morality, with the most clear and certain knowledge, men generally fall into those very habits, which they condemn (*a*).

Who, for example, does not know Intemperance to be a great evil to the possessor? Yet we see intemperate people in abundance. Idleness too, we are all sensible, not only fails in supplying the necessities of life, but dissipates moreover all our substance: notwithstanding this, more idle people may be found, than such as are willing to be industrious. For these reasons, I apprehend, it is incumbent

on those of juster sentiments to be incessantly urgent on such topics ; that men may be converted and compelled (*b*), if possible, to a more virtuous deportment : and, in imitation of the conductor in the Mysteries, who forewarns the candidates for initiation more than once of their duty, it is expedient for the moral teacher to pronounce frequent, or rather unceasing, lessons of admonition, like solemn proclamations of the Hierophant. An inflammation of the body does not yield to the first fomentations of the physician ; but, after frequent application, it supples and subsides : and we shall have cause to congratulate our exertions, if repeated prescriptions of right reason assuage the vicious inflammation in our souls.

Now I may assert, with respect to IMMODERATE DESIRES, that all men are aware of their inexpediency, their injustice, and instrumentality to the greatest mischiefs, yet still persevere to foster them ; nor will endure a fair and general equality. Yet we may perceive, that idleness, and intemperance, and universally every other vice, are hurtful to those who practise them ; and all, addicted to such excesses, are properly chastised by admonition and reproof ; they are not, however, objects of detestation, nor regarded as the common enemies of man : but Immoderate Desire, whilst it proves the greatest

possible calamity to the victim of this passion, excites also the feelings of uneasiness in others: he receives no pity, nor is deemed worthy of admonition. All men banish him from their society, and regard him as an enemy.

Now, if any one be desirous of apprehending the magnitude of this depravity, let him reflect on his own sensations towards those, who attempt a rapacious depredation upon himself: for thus he may conjecture the feelings of others with respect to him, when guilty of the same injustice. Euripides, inferiour to none of the poets in reputation, introduces Jocasta as exhorting her son Eteocles, to relinquish his unjust encroachments upon his brother's rights, by such arguments as these (c):

Why wilt thou, Son! this worst of Dæmons court,
Injustice? All extortion she: forbear.
What houses and what cities has she found
Elate in bliss, but sunk in ruin left!
And still you madden for her. Man's first good
Is mild Equality: this, friend to friend,
To comrades comrades, state to state, unites;
This is the rule supreme, and law, of men.
But ever to the greater is the less
Sworn foe, with malice deep, which Nature prompts,

I have quoted the verses, because precepts, elegantly delivered, are adopted for use by men of understanding: and in this passage all

the concomitants of immoderate desire are found concentrated ; it's unsuitableness to the welfare of private and public life, and, in fact, it's aptitude to subvert and destroy the prosperity both of families and communities ; then, that a respect for Equality is the law enacted for mankind ; that the same principle cements public friendships, and promotes universal peace among individuals ; that animosities, political dissensions, and foreign wars, spring from no other source than immoderate desire, by which others are defrauded of their proper portion. What is bound upon us by stronger ties, than the love of life ; and what possession is estimated universally at so high a value (*d*) ? Yet even this will men sacrifice to a lust of gain. Nay, some have overturned under it's influence their native country from it's foundations.

After this, the same poet proceeds to tell us (*e*), that no desire of usurpation prevails among cœlestial existences ; which are preserved accordingly from corruption and decay, whilst they maintain with regularity and decorum their respective stations ; NIGHT, and DAY, and the revolving SEASONS ; for, without this uniformity of procedure, their conservation were impossible. If then a neglect of moderation ensure destruction to things, which are divine ; what may human things be sup-

posed to suffer from this ruinous distemper? The poet instances also in the *measures* and *rules* of daily accommodation in society, as inventions for the establishment of justice, and the prevention of fraudulent advantages, betwixt man and man. Hesiod goes so far as to affirm *the half to be more than the whole (f)*; with a view, I imagine, to the injuries and losses ultimately flowing from injustice. For what king, or potentate, or republic, ever attempted to transgress the boundaries of equity for the gratification of exorbitant desire, without losing all the prosperity, which they enjoyed, involving themselves in excessive and inextricable calamities, and leaving to future generations a conspicuous example of sottishness and depravity? Or who, on the contrary, ever consented to suffer loss, and acquiesced patiently in a diminution of his rights, but greater acquisitions, spontaneous and without his labour, redounded in the end, with a permanent duration of his felicity, and a most secure enjoyment of those blessings, which the liberality of Fortune had lavished on him (*g*)? Did not, for example, those children of Jocasta, who quarrelled on the principle of encroaching selfishness; one, from an eagerness of sole dominion; the other, from a determination to recover his share by every possible exertion;—did not they, the children of the same parents, slay

each other, and bring grievous disasters on the respective espousers of their cause? The Argive chiefs on that expedition were slaughtered in the battle; the Thebans, their antagonists, were soon after discomfited by Theseus, for refusing the sepulture of the dead.

Moreover, from the intemperate appetites of a single man, who rapaciously bore off Helen and the property of Menelaus, the inhabitants of the greatest city throughout Asia were undone, with their children and their wives: suffering so severe a vengeance for the retention only of a single woman, and substance of little value!

Xerxes also, the lord of a whole continent, from a desire of adding Greece to his dominions, shamefully lost all that power, which he had assembled; so vast a navy and so many myriads of men! and with difficulty saved even his own life by flight. Afterwards, when the coast of his native empire, and his maritime cities were ravaged by the Greeks, he submitted from painful necessity to this disgrace.

Polycrates, we are told (*h*), was the happiest of mankind, while his dominion was confined to Samos; but, after he crost the sea, from a desire of meddling with the kingdom of another

and plundering it's wealth, he was not indulged with so much as an easy death, miserably perishing by empalement in the hands of a barbarian commander.

These examples I have adduced for our admonition, both from remote antiquity and succeeding ages, from poets and historians. It is worth while to contemplate also the propensity of Apollo to recompense immoderate desires with their proper chastisement.

When the Lacedæmonians enquired of his oracle, whether he intended to indulge them with the conquest of Arcadia ; he not only rejected their application, but upbraided in the harshness of reproach their inordinate ambition:

Arcadia you request. I give it not.

He also connected a punishment with their attempt, and foretold the consequences ; but in a manner so little understood by this heedless people, that they marcht against Tegea, and ran into disasters of universal notoriety. Yet evidently, when the God denied Arcadia, he could not intend to give them even Tegea, the fortress and principal city of that district. But extravagant desires stop the very ears of men, and render them deaf even to the most audible instruction.

On another occasion, the oracle directed the Athenians, who consulted it concerning the island Sicily, to enclose Sicily within their city: meaning a certain eminence in their neighbourhood. They, however, inattentive to what lay before them and under their very eyes, were so infatuated with a lust of empire, as to imagine the God capable of directing them to enclose with one wall the city Athens and an island at the distance of about ten thousand stadia! Under this delusion, they fitted out an expedition thither; and not only completely failed in their attempt on Sicily, but were deprived also of Attica itself, and saw their own city under the dominion of their enemies. Nor will any scarcity be found of similar examples, with inclination for the search.

Now most men esteem bodily strength a blessing: yet they, who are robust, and powerful, and bulky to excess, would prefer a mediocrity of vigour and dimensions; because, I presume, all beyond this is troublesome unwieldiness: and, in like manner, riches in moderation have their utility, produce no vexations, and furnish the conveniences of life without solicitude and without deficiency; but a superabundance of wealth creates those anxieties and sorrows, which overbalance all its pleasures and advantages, nor fails to terminate

in dissatisfaction and repentance. Nay, some from no other source have become destitute at length even of common necessities, under the pressure of abject poverty.

But, if any element of Nature in our constitution should be desirous of extending it's influence, how could we continue in existence even for the shortest period? I mean, if the blood, for example, or the warm spirit (*i*), should become intense or multiplied in undue proportion; are we not sensible, that violent and dangerous distempers must ensue? In musical instruments, if any single note be strained beyond it's pitch, is not their whole harmony destroyed? It is also a frequent subject of extreme wonder to my speculations, what we should have done, if the Gods had not circumscribed the term of human life within it's present limits. Certainly, like beings fitted up for a perpetual existence, we should have occupied ourselves with incessant contentions for superiority of wealth and power. As a man, who knows, that the voyage, which he is undertaking, cannot consume more than two or three days at most, would be thought absurd for laying in the provisions of a year: ought not he, on the same principle, who cannot reasonably expect a longer term than seventy years (*k*), to be regarded as insane, for storing

himself with the accommodations of a thousand? In fact, many lay up such an immense stock, as would sink the ship instantaneously, should they undertake a voyage: and this is the conduct, in reality, of multitudes.

Again: if a man should invite ten or fifteen people to an entertainment; and, when nothing was requisite but a competent provision for that number, should prepare victuals for five hundred or a thousand people; must he not be deemed a downright madman? But we ourselves are entitled to no other name; whilst, with bodily necessities few in number, (for what do we require beyond cloaths, and food, and habitation (*l*)?) we are constantly on the stretch to provide accommodations sufficient for an army in it's encampment. Nor verily without reason: for the generality have indeed an army of Desires to maintain within themselves. No one, however, wishes for a garment beyond the dimensions of his body, because troublesome to manage; yet will he covet wealth greater than his necessities; not aware, that this excess is more cumbersome than the former. Cræsus (*m*), king of Lydia, hit on a very good contrivance, in my opinion, for exposing to ridicule the insatiable avarice of mankind; when he brought a number of men into his treasury, and gave them leave to furnish themselves with as much

gold as they could carry about their bodies. Many not only stufft their bosoms full, but fastened ingots to their hair, and held them in their teeth ; so as to move along with great difficulty, and excite infinite merriment by their aukward postures and waddling gait : exactly as some men walk through life, incurring every species of excessive indecorum and contemptuous ridicule from an indulgence of IM-MODÉRATE DESIRES.

ON THE
CULTIVATION OF LETTERS.

I HAVE frequently commended your manners, as the manners of a virtuous person, and one deserving a priority of rank even among the most eminent in virtue ; but your character never excited my admiration so entirely as at the present moment. In the very prime of youth, with influence inferiour to no man, with an ample fortune, and amidst every opportunity of luxurious indulgency by day and night, to be inflamed with such an ardent thirst of knowledge, to be so ambitious of excellence in oratory, as to decline even no labour in this pursuit; most decisively evinces to my mind the energy of a noble soul, and is characteristic not only of honourable ambition, but a philosophic spirit. Thus the most respectable of the ancients were accustomed to pride themselves on their indefatigable enquiries after knowledge, not only in the vigour of youth, but in the declension of old age (*a*). I applaud the soundness of your judgement, which esteems

an intimate knowledge, and a practical efficiency, of eloquence, suitable qualifications for a public character. These accomplishments are most usefully instrumental both in procuring affection, power, and respect, to their possessor, and in securing him from disparagement and contempt. For what inspires a man with more confidence in a time of danger, than a consciousness of his talents as an orator? Who is more effectual in laying prostrate and chastising the injurious and arrogant? Who more capable of repressing intemperate desires? Whose admonitions do we receive with more submissive patience, than those of the monitor, by whose eloquence we are enraptured? Accordingly, we may observe in communities a due share of honour given to such as expend their riches for the public service, or in decorations of the city; but plenary commendations are seen to be lavished only on men of eloquence, as the primary authors of all political enjoyments (*b*). For which reason also those poets of the earliest antiquity, who received the gift of poetry from the Gods (*c*), speak neither of the strong, nor beautiful, as contemplated by mankind in the character of Divinities, but of the eloquent alone (*d*).

However, I both praise and admire you for your conviction of these truths, and your dili-

gence in the exemplification of them by your own conduct: nor am I sensible of a trivial obligation to you on my own account, for esteeming me useful in corroborating this conviction and confirming that conduct. For until this moment, like one of the ancients, who spake of himself as prophet enough for his own purpose, I too thought my own literature, scanty as it is, sufficient for my own character and views: but you encourage me to a superiour confidence and self-complacency, by deeming me capable of serviceable co-operation to one of your years and extraordinary proficiency in learning. I may possibly be able to assist you, as a child sometimes, or a hoary shepherd, may point out a shorter by-road, or a beaten path, to a vigorous and youthful traveller, which he did not know. But, that I may not expatiate in too tedious a preamble, I shall now attempt the execution of your injunctions.

For a young man, just entering on his oratorical exertions, a different sort of application is required: but you have enjoyed many opportunities of practical improvement, are connected with public occupations, nor require the formidable energies of judicial oratory, but that species only, which becomes and accomplishes a statesman.

In the first place, then, laborious and painful study, you may assure yourself, is not necessary for you: this exceedingly contributes to the advancement of one, absolutely devoted to a complete cultivation of this object, but would only create both irksomeness and disgust to an occasional practitioner. As fatiguing exercise serves only to debilitate those, who are unaccustomed to violent exertions of the body, and a moderate motion of the limbs is more beneficial, than the straining contentions of the gymnastic school: so your views in cultivating eloquence demand rather an intermixture of pleasant recreation, than a course of toilsome and exhausting efforts.

Of the poets, I would recommend an occasional and perfunctory attention to the comedies of Menander, and to Euripides the tragedian; not, however, to peruse these authors yourself in the customary manner, but to employ a reader, who shall recite them with a melodious voice, if possible; at least with no unpleasing accent, in all the vivacity of theatrical exhibition: because your perception of their beauties will be keener, when exempt from the personal fatigue of reading. Nor let the critics censure me for this preference of Menander to all the authors of ancient comedy (*e*), and of Euripides to the old tragedi-

ans : for physicians are not accustomed to prescribe the most costly, but the most salutary, diet to their patients (*f*). Now it would be found a task of difficulty to enumerate all the utilities of these poets. The characters of Menander, for a representation of whatever is moral and graceful in human conduct, far exceed all the delineations, vigorous and impressive as they confessedly are, of the old comedians : and the engaging hilarity, the persuasive simplicity, of Euripides, if less striking than that energy and stateliness of tragic pomp, which dignify Æschylus and Sophocles, are altogether more useful to the statesman (*g*). His skill also is consummate, as a delineator of the manners and the passions ; and he mingles sententious precepts in his poetry of universally beneficial application ; such as we might expect from a genius tutored in the discipline of philosophy.

As to Homer, he is both the midst and the last and the first (*h*) to every student, in childhood, in youth, and in old age : supplying from his stores all that any mind is capable of receiving.

With respect to lyric, elegiac, iambic, and dithyrambic (*i*) poetry, they are very estimable to one, who abounds in leisure : but, where activity is the object, and a combination of po-

litical experience with nutritious study, no opportunities will arise for cultivating an intimacy with that class of poets.

On many accounts an earnest and diligent attention to the historians is incumbent on a statesman. Independent of their style, a knowledge of facts, of calamitous and prosperous events, such as have befallen both men and cities, not only from a rational train of causes, but from unaccountable improbabilities, is extremely necessary to one engaged by choice in a political career: because, in proportion to his acquaintance with past transactions, will he execute his own enterprises with dexterity, and, as far as circumstances may admit, with efficacy and success; nor will he suffer immoderate elation from prosperity, or ignominious dejection from miscarriage, under a presentiment of conviction, that his most fortunate achievements might have issued in calamity. Herodotus you will read, if you can procure him (*k*), at your ease, with no tumultuary sensations: because, the negligent facility and sweetness of his elocution suggest a tacit suspicion of a fabulous invention, rather than of historic narrative.

Thucydides ranks, in my estimation, among the foremost in this class, and Theopompus

with the next in order: for his style has a peculiarity of complexion exactly consonant to the character of history, nor does he want either vigour or copiousness of expression; and his negligence in the choice of words is not so censurable as to cause disgust. Ephorus has delivered indeed a most ample variety of facts, but the supine carelessness of his composition is ill calculated for your purpose.

Of the orators, who is not acquainted with those, who are generally esteemed most eminent in this department? Demosthenes, in the nervous vigour of his elocution, the astonishing energy of his sentiment, and his exuberance of phrase, has far surpassed the merits of his competitors; as Lysias excels them in conciseness and simplicity, in condensation of thought, and an artificial concealment of his oratoric powers. Yet would I not advise a particular attention to orators of this description, but rather to Hyperides and Æschines: their energies are more simple, their arrangements more easily apprehended, and the beauty of their phraseology is in no respect inferior to that of Lysias and Demosthenes. I would recommend also an acquaintance with Lycurgus, less vehement than the rest, and depicting the unaffected simplicity of his own manners in the pure colouring of his composition.

It is my judgement also, (but exact critics will censure this advice) that you ought not to be wholly unacquainted with more modern writers, and such as were almost our contemporaries ; I mean, Antipater, Theodorus, Plution, Conon, and the rest of that description ; because their talents may be serviceable to us even in this respect, that we are not fettered by the same slavish veneration for them, as for the ancients. Our ability of discovering their defects inspires confidence in the perusal of their performances ; and comparison is more agreeable, when accompanied by a presumption, that we shall not always be degraded by the result, but may claim an occasional superiority, on competition.

I will now turn my attention to the philosophers of the Socratic school ; whom I affirm to be most essentially requisite to every man, who aspires at excellence in composition. As, in diet, no fish without salt is palatable to the taste ; so can no language, in my opinion, be acceptable to the ear, untempered by the graces of Socratic diction.

Among these I esteem Xenophon as alone sufficient of all the ancients for the accomplishments of a political man, whether a military commander, a city magistrate, or a public

orator ; whether one in a senatorial capacity, who is desirous not only to be distinguished as a speaker, but, as a citizen of rank and dignity, to express himself conformably to such a character in his judicial functions. Xenophon, to my fancy, is the most excellent and beneficial in this view of all the Socratic writers. His thoughts are simple, perspicuous, and universally intelligible: the complexion of his style is sweet and graceful, and, with an extraordinary proportion of these qualities, impressive also ; thus swaying the mind not only by the energetic vigour of his elocution, but by a species of irresistible enchantment. If you can persuade yourself, therefore, to peruse his expedition into Persia (*l*) with all possible minuteness and closeness of attention, you will find every form of oratory, which you shall at any time be able to employ, comprised in this work : a work, well calculated for a rule and standard to every student, who will consent to direct and model his compositions by this exemplar of incomparable excellence.

If it become expedient for a statesman to encourage his fellow-citizens in a crisis of extreme dejection, many specimens of propriety in this respect are exhibited in that history : if to exhort and instigate, no man, acquainted with the Græcian language, could fail to be

roused by the exhortative harangues of Xenophon. My own mind at least is all emotion, and a tear will inadvertently trickle down my cheek, whilst I am absorbed in such a narrative of such a writer.

If the occasion demand that an audience, high-spirited and presumptuous, be addressed in a speech conducted with dexterity and prudence, guarded from passionate emotion at any symptoms of indignation, no less than from an indecorous servility of sentiment and a cringing humiliation to their insolence; here also Xenophon is our model.

How secret communications must be conducted by a speaker with generals apart from the soldiery at large, and with soldiers detached from their commanders, in a style of dignified authority; how an enemy may be deceived to his ruin, and friends illuded for their benefit; how truth may be disclosed with unoffending confidence to a rash and tumultuous assembly; how to impair the credit of superiours, to detect the stratagems of tyrants,—and to disclose the mutual artifices and impositions of mankind;—this history abundantly furnishes all suitable instruction. That commixture of eloquence and fact, not from secondary rumour and inventive fancy, but from the transactions and

the speeches of the man himself, breathes through the whole body of the volume a most persuasive influence, and especially with reference to those topics, which I have just specified in detail. You will never regret, assure yourself from me, an incessant devotion to this writer; but, whether you stretch out your hand (*m*) in the senate or among the people, Xenophon cannot fail of recurring to your thoughts, if you have cultivated his acquaintance with zeal and emulation.

Exercise in composition I shall not advise, except very sparingly; and recommend rather dictation to a scribe. For, in the first place, dictation bears a closer affinity to public speaking, and is performed with less trouble: then, though the practice of composition may produce more vigour, dictation is the parent of ease and fluency. Nor, when you do write, should you employ yourself in the fictitious arguments of scholastic exercises, but on such works as have delighted you in the perusal, particularly those of Xenophon: and your employment should be, either a confutation of a speech, or a diversified discussion of the same topic. It will prove also a beneficial exercise to review repeatedly, if your memory be good, the same passages of a favourite writer: thus you will become habituated to the character of

their style and the accuracy of their sentiments. I do not mean, however, that you should take a whole chapter as it lies, like boys at school; but treasure up in your mind some very favourite and admired passage.

Had I been addressing myself to a young man, I should have enlarged on this subject; but for you these few observations are sufficient: because, if but a small portion of them be adopted, you must reap no little benefit from my directions; if, on the other hand, you receive my admonitions with reluctance and execute them with uneasiness, they are not absolutely essential to the circumstances of your condition. But I grow tedious in my counsel: you, however, are the cause; your persuasions and invitations allured me to this address: yet, perhaps, as the skilful wrestler, by yielding spontaneously to his weak antagonist, induces a conceit of superiour strength; you also may have incited me to advise you upon subjects, with which you are better acquainted than myself. To me, if your opinion coincide, a personal interview would be more acceptable; that we might mutually assist each other in our researches through ancient literature, and converse on the subjects of our enquiries. As painters and statuaries are not contented with a bare description of lines and colours, but re-

commend an ocular inspection, whilst they are occupied in their respective arts ; and, as the gymnastic teacher wishes to associate the experiment of his own practice with his precepts to the pupil: so, in these admonitions on literary topics, a superiour utility results from an actual performance of the monitor. With respect to myself at least, I would not hesitate even to read (*n*) an author in your hearing, could I contribute to your improvement ; actuated as I feel, by my peculiar affection for you, my admiration of your literary ardour, and by a grateful sense of your respectful attention to myself.

ON RETIREMENT.

WHAT is it after all, that we mean by RETIREMENT? And of what description are the men, who may properly be said to go into *retirement*? Can we apply this term to such as abandon the employments and duties of their station? As, for example, if an Athenian, when the Lacedæmonians had made an irruption into Attica, or Philip, or any other enemy, was marching thither, should retreat to Megara, or Ægina, from the dangers of the war; could such a man be said to go into *retirement*? Or, if the possessor of considerable wealth should relinquish his residence in the city, to shun his portion of expence in the discharge of public offices? Or, if one eminently skilled in the cure of distempers, when his friends and connexions were diseased, through a dislike of the vexations and interruptions attendant on his profession, should desert them in their extremity, and remove his habitation to another place? Or, lastly, if the man, who must have submitted to take his chance of nomination to

fill in rotation the magistracies of the city, and of watching by night on some confidential duty, should refuse his services; and, for the sole purpose of escaping the trouble of all these occupations, and the reproof and interference of those, who might disturb him in his convivial enjoyments, his sleep, and his sensualities, should remove himself to some distant situation: can a character like this be said to go into *retirement*? Nay, rather, it is undeniably apparent, that all, who thus conduct themselves, must be considered as fugitives and deserters only; and no possible excuse can be devised, nor indulgence given, to indolence of this nature, and such abandonment of duty.

Or shall a secession from useless occupations and impertinent engagements, with a view to deliverance from troublesome intruders, be dignified with the title of *retirement*? But retirement is not effected by a simple transfer of residence from one city to another, or a mere change of place; because more embarrassments will pursue us, whithersoever we may go; and will continue to interrupt the execution of our purposes. In all possible situations, we shall be encountered by intemperate drinkers, by gamblers, by men incessantly engaged in some useless or pernicious calling, by trifling or corrupting conversation, by despicable syco-

phants of some great man: because silly people have no dominion over their own determinations, but are easily whirled about in the vortex of every frivolous pretence and every depraved associate: so that the generality of human beings resemble spendthrifts; for, as these can give no account of their expenses, though large sums have disappeared, most men are equally unable to account for their expenditure of time, for the days and months and years of their existence. Yet the lapses of life and the consumption of time are indeed of no trivial value to mankind, nor of less account, in my judgement, than their money. If, however, but a small coin be lost, what a sensible uneasiness is occasioned! and how few can support a greater loss with any degree of patience and æquanimity! Not that such vexation and disquietude originate in the proper motive, a resentment of their own carelessness and negligence; but in the mere privation of the money: whereas, if one day be squandered in it's passage, and a second, and a third, no man regards it. In one case, they can enter into a calculation, how their whole substance will insensibly waste away and be consumed, if care and thought be wanting: but, in the other, they are incapable of this simple computation; How their entire lives, without a watchful precaution against the random profu-

sion of each day, will imperceptibly glide off, and be lost for ever !

It is not the place then, nor simple emigration, which rescues life from an ignominious destruction of our time ; no secession to Corinth or to Thebes ; but a firm determination of Retirement. Both at Thebes and Megara, and every other part of Greece or Italy, in which we may choose to live, indolence and supineness are always in our power ; nor will pretexts be wanting, if inclination fail not, of stupid impertinences to destroy large portions of our time, wherever our residence may be fixed. The best, therefore, and most beneficial retirement of them all is, a retirement to ourselves, and an attendance on the proper offices of life ; whether we live in Babylon or at Athens, in crowded camps, or a contracted island, uninhabited by man. Retirements and solitudes of that customary kind have a partial tendency indeed to promote a disengaged tranquillity and a suitable discharge of duty ; as a repeated change of couch produces sometimes a transient refreshment to a sick person, but no effectual relief, nor the removal of his distemper.

Moreover, we may see instances of men fulfilling without hindrance the business of life in the midst of tumult and a crowd ; as the musical

performer and the musical instructor, who often have their school in the public street, each undiverted from his instrument and his object by the throng and noise of passengers: the dancer also, and the dancing-master, pursue their respective purposes, without regarding the numbers in the theatre that are fighting and stripping for the battle, or are otherwise employed: nor less the harper and the painter; and, what is the most strange of all, even schoolmasters continue sitting in the street with their scholars, without perceiving any obstruction to the teacher or the learner from the bustling multitudes about them. Nay, I have seen myself, in passing through the race-ground (*a*), numbers of men engaged in their various employments; one, playing on the pipe; another, dancing; a conjurer, exhibiting his tricks; one, reading poetry; another, singing; another, perusing a piece of history or a tale: yet none of these different performers were a hindrance to the rest from attending severally to the execution of their respective duties.

But, an objector will say, none of these employments so collect and compose the soul, as to superinduce a contempt of all other objects; whereas literature, it should seem, and philosophy, which eminently produce this effect, require much solitude and seclusion from the

world. Like sick people, who are unable to sleep without a profound silence in their chamber, the votaries of letters also, unless every tongue be still, with no objects to divert their sight, no noises to molest their ear, become incapable of concentrating their thoughts to the subject of their meditations.—Yet have I seen many on the sea-shore indulging their contemplation without inconvenience, conversing, listening, and sleeping at the stated season; because the formidable roaring of the sea had no reference to them, and made no part of their concern. Certainly, if they had been inclined to notice the different intensities of the sound, to enumerate the waves as they brake upon the beach, to observe the gulls and other birds, plunging into the water, or swimming with ease upon it's surface; they would not have found in that case much leisure for any further purpose. Precisely in the same manner, if we were able to possess ourselves with a persuasion, that the noise and bustle of men and their occupations was nothing more than the turbulence of the sea, we should then suffer no molestation from them. This, therefore, seems to be the principal lesson and the most valuable point of discipline; the habituation of our souls to an inseparable attendance upon Reason, undiverted by all other other objects from the proper consideration, which lies before us.

A soul, thus exercised, will acquire the ability of executing all her purposes by the rules of reason; but the soul, bewildered, and whirled about in perpetual rotation from one object to another in pursuit of pleasures and the indulgences of indolence, can derive no more benefit from tranquillity and solitude, than a plantation can receive refreshment by any direction of that aqueduct, which is situated on the wrong inclination of the hill (*b*).

I know myself some hounds, properly and diligently educated, who instantly investigate the track, when they are let loose; nor could they be induced to relinquish their search by any voices, which might assail them from all directions, by any fragrance from an infinity of fruits and flowers intermingling with the scent, by a numerous appearance of men and other animals, by the footsteps of horses and oxen and sheep; not a single object of all these is perceived by their senses, but entirely overlooked as they steadily investigate the traces of the game on every side: to this they inflexibly adhere, till at length they discover and spring the hare, which they follow, whatsoever course it take, deterred from their pursuit neither by plain, nor mountain, nor any ruggedness of ground, by torrent, or by river; though the hare, in the mean time, endeavour to elude them by all the

multiplicity of her turns and doublings : but inexperienced and untrained hounds are slow-scented, and soon give up the chace ; or, if any barking of dogs, or the murmur of travellers, or of shepherds conversing with each other, strike upon their ear from any quarter, they instantaneously abandon the track, and eagerly pursue the adventitious sound. Now, as I before remarked, habit is the primary efficient in all these cases. In the same manner, therefore, we should inure the soul never to turn herself aside and retire from the track of duty : otherwise, a ready attainment of our purpose and an effective accomplishment of any enterprise become impossible. Is it not in solitary and tranquil situations, more than in any other places, that senseless men have devised many unfruitful and absurd contrivances, in which their thoughts are fondly absorbed, to the neglect of important duties, whilst they figure to their imagination kingdoms, riches, and a thousand other marvellous and romantic visions ? Some have coined for themselves in these delusive dreams large quantities of gold and silver, and have thus started into the sudden possession of countless wealth : others have been exhibited to their own fancies as the puissant sovereigns of states and empires, amidst the multifarious occupations of despotical dominion ; killing some, banishing others, revelling in the

charms of beautiful virgins to the full extent of their capricious appetites, and in all the delicacies of the most sumptuous luxuriousness. Some also have become money-lenders, and supposed themselves engaged in every diversity of congenial employments; framing to their minds a series of visions multiform and numberless, as if broad awake, with their eyes open. Nor unfrequently have the most preposterous and vicious actions in real life resulted from these dreams. Monarchical crowns, I acknowledge, are not a common consequence of such illusions: they shrink back from the dull pursuit of somnolent inactivity, and are only secured by the sharp grasp of watchfulness and vigour (*c*): prodigality of expense, however, licentious love, and avocations of similar depravity, have flowed, in numerous examples, from no other source.

We are furnished, if I mistake not, with one specimen of this truth in the conduct of Paris, whilst he was sauntering on mount Ida with his herd. A thought, which lust suggested, came across his fancy, of the bliss attendant on the possession of the most beautiful woman in the world (*d*): a felicity, with which no majesty of empire, no riches, no conquest of the universe, was worthy to compare. The second excursion of his imagination was, who this woman

could be? Of what country? And by what expedient he might procure her for his wife? As for the brides and maids of Ilium, them he undervalued, as a man of princely birth, and thought unsuitable to his alliance: nor did he less disdain the Lydian and Phrygian virgins, with the women of Lesbos and of Mysia. Hearing afterwards of a woman in Sparta, reputed a daughter of Jupiter, married to Menelaus, a king himself and brother to the sovereign of all Greece; a woman, whom the very flower of the Græcian youth, with an offer of magnificent gifts and a most ample portion, had ardently solicited in marriage: sister also of two distinguished heroes, Castor and Pollux, sons of Jove:—he was eager to obtain this extraordinary person for his wife. The accomplishment, however, of his desire he deemed impracticable, unless some God would promise to confer the gift. But what deity vouchsafes such favours, but She, whose influence is supreme over love and marriage? Without her co-operation and consent, his project was impossible. How then could he persuade that Goddess to concede this boon? If he could by any means insinuate himself into her good graces. But what favour, or what present, could he bestow? Wealth she did not want, being herself all golden (*e*) and all wealthy; nor incense; for incense is offered to

her by every inhabitant of every region: nor could she be conciliated easily by any other deviseable homage and supplication. If, peradventure, a man could appropriate to her the first object of her wishes, and what she deemed the most valuable acquisition in nature, and give his suffrage to her super-eminent and unrivalled beauty; the Goddess might then befriend him. Now over whom could he assign her the preference, but over those superiour and most potent divinities, Juno and Minerva? But still more effectually would her patronage be secured, should he reject on her behalf most singular and admirable presents, proposed to him by the other Goddesses, as the rewards of victory.

When his imagination had wrought within him this strong persuasion of realities, and his soul by her visionary influences had woven the close and ample texture of this illusion; he next becomes an arbiter of these Goddesses, appointed by Jove himself: he accordingly disparages the vast offers of Pallas and of Juno, in competition with the recompense proposed by Venus, a completion of his marriage with that woman, who was the idol of his heart and the subject of his prayers. In the case, indeed, of an ordinary shepherd or private man, no mischief would have ensued from this dream

of fancy ; but a prince and potentate, abounding in riches, and powerful in the dominion of a city very considerable in those days, seconded by the affectionate compliance of his parents, found no difficulty in effecting the sequel of his purpose. Under these visionary assurances, as if substantial truths, he constructed a navy, collected a crew, sailed to Greece, arrived at Sparta and at the house of Helen and Menelaus, was hospitably entertained, persuaded her to abandon her husband and her country, brought her to Troy, and thus laid the foundation of numerous troubles and dire disasters to his country,

We may discover, therefore, how suggestions and desires in the minds of men on the vulgar level, and destitute of power, are but airy and ineffective, the sources of no difficulties and calamities : and, as real dreams, instantly vanish when we awake, unable to endure, according to the popular persuasion, the sun and the light ; so these hopes and wishes of such unimportant speculators are the same bodiless and fleeting phantoms : but the dreaming speculations of monarchs, and of men opulent and powerful, frequently determine in a calamitous and formidable crisis. A resemblance to this topic may be found in what are called wind-eggs, generated without the male,

-as if by the incumbency of wind. Whence Homer, I presume, under a belief that such generation was not impossible, nor incredible to human reason, speaks of some horses, as the production of the Northern Wind (*f*): and he might mean also to insinuate, how real transactions are oftentimes the progeny of fanciful and impracticable wishes.

Now my view in this discourse itself, and these digressional illustrations, was, to evince the necessity of accustoming our minds both to act and meditate, as rational creatures, in all places and under every circumstance, amidst the tumult of the crowd, and in the tranquillity of solitude: for, without this habit, silence and secession from the world will be no security to the unreflecting and unwise from the depravation of vicious projects and the evils of actual delinquency.

ON HAPPINESS.

MEN in general have never given themselves the trouble to think at all what their conduct ought to be, nor what is the most valuable end of life, to which all their other actions should be made subservient; but each individual is occupied in his particular pursuit, some in horsemanship, some in military tactics, some in the gymnastic exercises, others in music, in agriculture, or in rhetoric: but the real advantages derivable from these objects of their attention, and the utilities, of which they are susceptible, they neither know nor are anxious to discover. Accordingly, some, by delighting in the practice of that exercise, become good horsemen: others excell in wrestling, boxing, running, and similar feats of agility and strength; some in successful husbandry, or prosperous navigation; others surpass their competitors in the liberal arts and sciences: yet how seldom can we find a man of virtue and understanding! a man, fully sensible in what wisdom and probity consist.

Oratory, for example, is a very general object of pursuit, and with men of liberal propensities and laudable ambition; some to acquire authority and influence by their oratorical reputation both in judicial courts and popular assemblies, with a view to accomplish any political purpose under contemplation; others, for the mere glory and applauses, which they receive, as powerful and eloquent declaimers, from their admiring countrymen: others, moreover, as they tell us, for the private gratification of this accomplishment. Of this class, some are speakers, and some confine themselves to composition only; a sort of middle rank, as an ancient justly called them, between speculative philosophers and active politicians: but what are the utilities of their employments, and to what beneficial objects the reputation of one, and the skill of the other, may be directed, are points, which have never engaged their reflections. Now I make no scruple of affirming, that all these accomplishments, unaccompanied by such consideration and enquiry, can pretend to little value; but that every pursuit, of whatever nature, has it's worth and it's utility to the man, who has arrived at a just and adequate comprehension of this principle. The mere applause of the unintelligent, who constitute the majority of

mankind, their opinion of our powers and of our enjoyments, has no more efficacy to promote our happiness, than their censures; than their persuasion of our inability in literature and our infelicity in life.

ON
THE CONDUCT OF MEN
AT
A PUBLIC DINNER.

THE disposition and characters of men are not more clearly discoverable in large popular assemblies, than at public dinners: except that the circumstances of the former are more multiform, and comprise an ampler period of time.

Some men come to an entertainment, and do nothing else but drink their wine; just as a thirsty traveller, when he finds a spring, stoops down, and drinks. The traveller, however, when he has taken his draught and quenched his thirst, departs in peace, without noise and nonsense; but they sometimes both say and do many unpleasant and vexatious things. Indeed the Nymphs (*a*) and Bacchus give their respective votaries a very different reception. He, conformably to a boisterous Deity, and one born in thunder and in lightening, as the poets

tell us, fills with genuine fire those who use him without discretion, and has made numbers appear as if they were thunder-stricken in reality. No wonder then, if, under this approximation to perfect phrenzy, they commit much mischief; as the Centaurs, Homer informs us (*b*), proceeded to great unruliness and excess of violence in the mansion of Pirithous.

Now some men, loquacious by nature, fasten upon a fellow-guest, and pester him with a long and senseless story: some employ themselves in humming a tone or singing loudly, with voices most unmusical; and are almost equally troublesome with the litigious and abusive. Others, of a morose complexion, and mighty pretenders to sobriety, disgust by their uncompliant humours: neither taking their proportion of wine, nor mixing in the general conversation of the company. But the guest of gentle nature, and of an accommodating temperature of manners, not only endures with contentment the untractable perversities of the rest, but by his own harmonious deportment attunes the discordant company to some concert of orderly demeanour; occasionally introducing his own remarks, and engaging their affections, by every dextrous and persuasive artifice, to a more according and friendly communication with each other.

Such is the conduct of men at an entertainment. With respect to large popular assemblies (c), the purpose of some, who frequent them, is merely a curious survey of the various spectacles and games; and such visitors, as are strongly actuated by this curiosity, employ themselves on these objects from morning to night. Many constitute a mere collection of market-people, who bring their commodities to sale; some make a public exhibition of their ingenuity by exposing works of art and various manufactures; some display their philosophical attainments in lectures; others read publicly their tragedies and epic poems, or their compositions in prose, to the no small annoyance of the man, who came for relaxation and amusement: which description most resembles those hummers and singers at an entertainment; to whom you are compelled to listen even in your own despite. Now, among those literary exhibitors, that man, who is able to produce an useful and edifying treatise, and lead the assembly to a proficiency in virtue and decorum, enjoys an exemption from the general turbulence of the crowd, and collects their attention to himself. For the generality of men, as it appears to me, are similarly affected to philosophical discourses and the prescriptions of the physician: they never consult him nor take his medicines, till some unequivocal disorder, or some bodily

pain, attack them; nor, again, will they listen, for the most part, to the admonitions of philosophy, unless their life be assailed by some uneasiness and disaster.

We may remark, for example, how the prosperous man, (conformably to the customary criterion of prosperity) rich in mortgages and money put out to interest, or one of great landed property; if he, with his wife and children, be in health, if he enjoy much influence and authority, unapprehensive of wars, seditions, and probable dangers: we may observe, I say, how one, so conditioned, is rarely solicitous of any communication with the professors or the precepts of philosophy (*d*): but, if some calamitous vicissitude should intervene, as a reverse of poverty for wealth, of weakness and insignificance for power and distinction, or any other extremity of distress; their dispositions become more attempered to the spirit of Philosophy: they endure her mandates, and solicit her consolations. Or, again, should some object of domestic fondness be ravished from their arms by death, a wife, a child, or brother, they even implore a soothing lecture of condolence from the philosopher: as if the season were now arrived for meditations on the necessity of resignation to events with a becoming moderation of temper, and on the means

of supporting their future infelicities with manly fortitude ; meditations, needless and unseasonable before this crisis. Nor are foolish people discovered to regulate their conduct differently with regard to their bodily constitution. At all other times, the preservation of health composes no part of their concerns: they indulge themselves without apprehension and without restraint in excessive sensuality and every intemperance of appetite: but, if an epidemic sickness should prevail, or some atmospherical contagion, they send instantly for the physician, entreat him to employ all the powers of his art; assaulted, as they are, by those feverish paroxysms and raging distempers, naturally consequent on such irregularities of life. Whereas, that antecedent concern, how to avoid the necessity of employing a physician at all, never engaged the slightest portion of their attention and solicitude.

CHARIDEMUS.

I LEARNT, some time before I saw you, the death of Charidemus: for immediately on my arrival hither I was enquiring about my other friends, and particularly these two young men, where they lived, and how they were in health. A stranger, not intimately acquainted with them, came in my way; and askt me, on hearing the mention of their names, if I meant the sons of Timarchus? He then told me, when I answered him in the affirmative, that the younger was with you (*a*) in Messene, grieving for his elder brother, who was lately dead. After some hesitation and uncertainty (*b*), but from no want of perspicuity in the man's account, I understood that Charidemus was no more. Now I may affirm with sincerity, that my affliction for his loss is equal to your own: for it would be an inexcusable affectation and a disrespect for the piety of your feelings, to speak of my sorrow as exceeding the sorrows of a father and a brother. Yet are these sensibilities but feebly influential on the bosoms of the vicious: as Opuntias, I am told, was no

more affected with the death of Charidemus, such an interesting and accomplished youth ! his associate as well as our's, than if he had been bereaved of any other member in the family. But your distress at this calamity appears excessive ; nor can I wonder at the violence and sharpness of your affliction : because the prolonged life of such a character, as Charidemus would presently have shewn himself must have proved a public blessing to your own city and to Greece in general. For my own part, I never knew a young man of a more noble spirit and a more kindly nature.

But, said they, had you known his feelings towards yourself, you would confer upon him a still more profuse encomium ; since he appeared to entertain a higher estimation of you than, I do not say merely of all other men, but even of me his father. During the prevalence of his distemper, and in the very article of death, whilst we and other relations, with his most intimate acquaintance, were about him, he was constantly dwelling on your name, with accents feeble and indistinct ; and expressly enjoined us to tell you, when we saw you next, that he died with your name upon his lips : for he continued his conversation with us to the last moment of his life. Indeed, it was observed by those, who knew you both, that in the

silent imitations of his gait, and other particularities, he was accustomed to copy after your example : but neither me did he thus study to resemble, nor any other person.

Perhaps, however, the excellences of his disposition might escape your notice in his childhood ; but they became more conspicuously prominent as he advanced to maturity. For a certain manliness and dignity of deportment shone forth in him with a characteristical discrimination : but did ye ever observe any oppressive display of conscious superiority, or of disgusting superciliousness, resulting from his eminent accomplishments ? On the contrary, he was distinguished by a degree of hilarity seldom seen, and was ready to engage in all liberal diversions, and indulge a playfulness of mirth with his companions ; but to profuse laughter was he rarely seen transported : so that in no respect did he occasion one sensation of uneasiness to his family.

In truth, he was the subject of general commendation, and his fellow-citizens paid him, but a youth of two and twenty, (for he was not older at his death) a more reverential homage, than was vouchsafed to his superiours in age and reputation.

But did he bequeath any other injunctions by letter, or conversation, on his death-bed?—Yes: many, and those divine, if impartiality of opinion may be expected from the fondness of a father. Though he was removed from existence in such immaturity of years, he wore not the appearance of a man, who bemoaned his untimely destiny, but was incessantly employed in endeavours to comfort us. At last, he called his amanuensis; and ordered him, as if under a sudden impulse of enthusiasm, to write down a consolatory discourse for our benefit. I was apprehensive, that an alienation of mind had seized him on his approaching dissolution; but I perceived marks of approbation and applause in those, who were standing by him.

Did you preserve what he then wrote?—Most carefully.—Suffer the servant to repeat it.—Nay, for I am partly fearful of some defects in a composition by so young a man, and at such a crisis: and he always seemed more diffident of speaking in your presence, than before all other people.—But, my good friend! you will not read his observations to an alien: nor am I so solicitous about the style, as the sentiments, which predominated in his mind at that season; that I may form a judgement how far he died in reality with cheerfulness and resolution.—These then are his words:

“ WHAT has now befallen me, is thus accomplished in conformity to the will of God: and it becomes our duty to deem none of his appointments harsh, nor bear them with reluctance. This is the advice of other sages, and especially of Homer, who has said (c),

“ No man should slight the glorious gifts of Gods :

“ bestowing very properly the name of gifts on their dispensations, as universally good and of good tendency. I feel, therefore, correspondently affected, and welcome Death with a calm acceptancy; pronouncing this testimony at no other juncture than in his presence, under an immediate expectation of dissolution. Receive this testimony as true; for my homage to Truth has been even more respectful than to yourselves: and, as far as ye are able, bear up against your sorrow, from a conviction, that nothing formidable has befallen me, by whatever term of horreur ye may choose to denominate this consummation of mortality. I will not describe this moment to you, as a grateful and pleasant crisis; (for I cannot suppose it to have been appointed for our delight) but, perhaps, as containing some mixture, of what merits admiration, in it.

“ We mortals all participate the blood of

“ our kindred Titans. As they, therefore, were
“ enemies to the Gods and made war upon
“ them, neither are we their favourites, but
“ are chastised by them, and punished by confinement in a PRISON: whence, after the
“ term of our captivity is expired, we are set
“ at liberty and dismissed. Now this place,
“ which we call the WORLD, is that prison
“ prepared for us by the Gods; a habitation,
“ inconvenient and insalubrious; of a temperature and state of atmosphere perpetually
“ changeable, sometimes cold and icy, full-
“ charged with wind and sleet and snow and
“ water; sometimes, hot and suffocating: then,
“ for a very small portion of the year, temperately genial; disturbed, however, by lightnings, and hurricanes, and whirlwinds, nor
“ unfrequently by convulsive earthquakes. But
“ all this variety of accident are dreadful punishments, and strike mankind, whenever
“ they appear, with trepidation and dismay (*d*).
“ In addition to these incommodities, from an
“ inability of enduring the unwholesomeness
“ and changeableness of the air, men contrive
“ for themselves other smaller prisons, houses
“ and cities, by a coagmentation of wood and
“ stone: as if any one in a roomy gaol should
“ build cells of narrower dimensions for his
“ habitation!

“ The different fruits and vegetable produc-
“ tions of the ground are raised up for our
“ sustentation, and continuance in life ; like
“ the bad and unpalatable food, with which
“ prisoners are supplied : but we receive them
“ greedily, from necessity and distress : in the
“ same manner as to slaves, chastised by our-
“ selves, whatever we chance to furnish, is
“ rendered sweet by familiarity and hunger.
“ These provisions, however, are in reality
“ base and noxious, demonstrating their dele-
“ terious qualities by the weakness of our
“ bodies : they are, besides, not readily pro-
“ curable, nor ungrudgingly furnished ; but re-
“ sult from an infinity of toil and misery.

“ Two TORMENTORS are the constituents of
“ our being, the SOUL and the BODY. The
“ Soul comprises within herself Desires, Grievs,
“ Resentments, Fears, Anxieties, with ten thou-
“ sand other Passions ; and lies, under their
“ operation, on the rack and torture by day
“ and night : for no man, even with a temper
“ of the utmost gentleness and self-possession,
“ is totally exempt from not a single passion of
“ all this multitude ; but keeps them shut up
“ within himself, like wild beasts, compelled
“ to stillness by forcible restraints and some
“ measure of persuasion, but instantaneously
“ roused up on the shortest intermission of his

“ blandishments and watchfulness. The Body
“ contains within it giddinesses, and spasms,
“ and epilepsies, with other diseases beyond
“ the power of language to recount, from it’s
“ repletion with blood and air, and from it’s
“ contexture of flesh and sinews and bones, of
“ soft and rigid substances, of moist and dry,
“ and all possible contrarieties. Our provisions
“ too, being the result of labour, as I before
“ remarked, and subsisting in contact with an
“ irregular atmosphere, aggravate some di-
“ seases, and occasion others, not visible be-
“ fore, but lurking in the constitution of the
“ body.

“ Such are the mischiefs comprehended with-
“ in ourselves! But our external chastisements
“ will appear on a comparison of no less ma-
“ lignity than these. For the qualities of fire
“ and iron, the sharp and rough impressions of
“ blows and other injuries, bereave us of our
“ senses, if their application be ever so little
“ in excess; and, when contemporary with
“ diseases, sometimes promote their prolonga-
“ tion for a great interval of time (*e*).

“ So numerous and so severe are the tortures,
“ under whose infliction men are individually
“ compelled to abide for an appointed period
“ in the confinement of this prison! nor are

“ they generally permitted to mingle with the
“ innumerable dead of former generations, till
“ each have left in his own room one, or more
“ successors to his torments. The continu-
“ ance of men in this state is involuntary ; but
“ one indissoluble chain holds together both
“ soul and body. As, moreover, we may ob-
“ serve among ourselves a row of prisoners
“ connected by one chain, some of little stature,
“ some of large dimensions ; some well-featur-
“ ed, and some uncomely ; but all equally
“ holden by the same constringency : so in
“ fortune, and reputation, and honour, men
“ surpass each other, as in size. Some are
“ kings, some in a private station ; some rich,
“ and others indigent : all, however, be their
“ distinctions what they will, are the victims
“ of Infelicity ; and the illustrious and wealthy,
“ no less than the poor and the ignoble, or
“ rather in a superiour degree, are straitened
“ by the fetters of the same bondage : for the
“ slenderness of some slackens the chain, and
“ makes it sit loose about them ; whilst the
“ luxuriant and swollen souls of monarchs suf-
“ fer by a close compression : as, in common
“ life, a fat and bloated prisoner feels a more
“ painful stricture from material fetters, than
“ a slender and emaciated starveling. Some
“ indeed, of an humble and unaspiring spirit,
“ God himself indulges with a relaxation ;

“ binds them, it is true, but with a slight and
“ easy chain, in consideration of their meek-
“ ness : of whom we shall speak hereafter.

“ But it seems expedient to mention first,
“ what I once heard, when a boy, from an
“ itinerant Diviner, concerning the quality of
“ this CHAIN. It bore no resemblance, he
“ told me, to these common chains, fabricated
“ from brass and iron, but was of a much
“ stronger texture, in figure, however, and
“ general structure, not much unlike. For, as
“ these consist of links reciprocally implicated
“ through one uniform concatenation ; such,
“ and so formed, is that chain, in which men
“ are entangled by the Gods. PLEASURE and
“ PAIN compose the links, which are mutually
“ interwoven in continued series ; so that un-
“ easiness and delight necessarily and unfail-
“ ingly succeed each other, like the ringlets of
“ a chain : whilst excessive sorrow immediately
“ accompanies excessive joy ; and thus in uni-
“ form gradation, through all the proportions
“ of intensity : and the supreme of all plea-
“ sures, DEATH, has his station fixed at the
“ end : on which account, he is usually pre-
“ ceded by an extremity of pain : for what
“ pain, incident to humanity, can exceed that
“ which conducts us to the grave ?

“ He said also, that every individual was
“ encompassed with other bands, some larger
“ and some less, which envelopt him like a
“ smaller chainwork, denominated **HOPES**: and,
“ as those bands wound over the whole body
“ from one extremity to the other, so these
“ Hopes pervaded and traversed the entire
“ compass of human life even to it's close; and
“ exercised an especial sovereignty over men,
“ by constraining an acquiescence under all
“ the severities of suffering. These secondary
“ chains swelled, and became gross, round the
“ thoughtless and unwise; but invested the
“ more intelligent and discreet with a slight
“ and easy cincture. This circumstance he
“ illustrated by the similitude of a *file*, thus
“ elegantly adhering to his original comparison:
“ and this file, he said, the dextrous only and
“ sagacious were able to discover, hidden as
“ it was with much ingenuity of contrivance:
“ as if any one should conceal a file in a pri-
“ son, that none of the prisoners might find it
“ out, and effect his escape. Accordingly, the
“ zealous and pertinacious are able to detect
“ it, but with difficulty; and give it the name
“ of **REASON**. They then proceed to an im-
“ mediate application of their discovery, by
“ filing their shackles, and reducing those parts
“ of the chain, which gall them, to all the

“ thinness and weakness possible, till they
“ have worn away Pleasures and Pains, as far
“ as the condition of things admits. But the
“ operation is long and slow ; for Reason finds
“ great difficulty in fastening upon the solid
“ and adamantine fabric of the chain, eats it
“ away by a process extremely gradual, yet
“ proves altogether unequal to a complete ero-
“ sion of the substance. The man, however,
“ who enjoys the possession of this remedy,
“ and uses it with unremitting assiduity and
“ his best exertions by day and by night, be-
“ gins to endure his confinement without im-
“ patience, and walks about, like one at li-
“ berty in comparison with the rest ; and,
“ when the crisis of his departure is at hand,
“ goes his way contentedly, as if freed from
“ every restraint and stricture. Out of this
“ class the Gods sometimes select even asses-
“ sors and associates for themselves, through a
“ veneration for their wisdom and their virtue ;
“ and reward them with an immunity from
“ punishment for ever.

“ Such was the doctrine of a morose man,
“ I should think, and one, who had been ex-
“ ercised by many calamities in life, with a
“ late initiation in right discipline : a doctrine,
“ however, neither true nor consonant to the
“ nature of the Gods. I once received a much

“ better lesson of philosophy than this, which
“ I shall communicate with greater pleasure,
“ from a husbandman ; delivered in tones un-
“ couth and accents of rusticity, which we
“ need not imitate : the sentiments, however,
“ I will attempt to recollect, and represent
“ with faithfulness.

“ He asserted, in his wayward strains, with
“ respect to JUPITER and the other Gods, that
“ they are good in themselves and benevolent
“ to men, as to beings of the same original
“ with their own (*f*). For men, he said, were
“ a race derived from the Gods ; and not from
“ the Titans, or the Giants. When the Gods
“ had secured to themselves the empire of the
“ universe (*g*), they sent out men, as a sort of
“ colony, to occupy the desolated earth ; fur-
“ nish them with a less portion of honour and
“ felicity than their own, but the same institutes
“ and laws ; as populous and opulent cities colo-
“ nise the smaller : alluding, I thought, though
“ he did not specify their names, to the Cythni-
“ ans and Seriphians, established by the Atheni-
“ ans, and to the Cytherians of old, by the La-
“ cedæmonians, with politics congenial to those
“ of the parent states : whence a similarity of
“ usages and discipline may be observed be-
“ tween the colony and the original, but with
“ considerable inferiority on one side, and a

“ diminution of their pristine vigour. The
“ difference, however, between respective co-
“ lonies of men, and between men and Gods,
“ was by no means equal: in the former case,
“ a mere human diversity discriminates crea-
“ tures of a perfectly correspondent nature; in
“ the latter, an infinite disparity, arising from
“ the incomparable pre-eminence of the Gods.

“ Now, whilst the establishment of life was
“ fresh, the Gods associated with mankind (*h*),
“ and sent from heaven procurators, as it were,
“ for our government and protection, such as
“ Hercules, Bacchus, Perseus, and others, to
“ reside amongst us: some, as we are told,
“ the sons of the Gods, and others, more re-
“ mote descendents. Afterwards they left us
“ to conduct ourselves as well as we were
“ able: and, in this state of dereliction, DE-
“ PRAVITY and INJUSTICE sprang up in the
“ world together.

“ He sang also another ode, but in his style
“ of poetry.—The WORLD, he said, was a
“ mansion beautiful and divine, inasmuch as it
“ was constructed by the Gods: and, as we
“ see some habitations, which are provided for
“ themselves by the affluent and wealthy,
“ finished in the roofs and walls and entrances,
“ with porticos and with pillars, with gilding

“ and with paintings ; so was this world beau-
“ tifully constructed for the reception and de-
“ lectation of mankind, richly variegated with
“ a sun, moon, and stars, with an intermixture
“ of land and sea, and the garniture of vege-
“ tation : all which are emanations from the
“ opulence of heaven and the architectural
“ wisdom of the Gods.

“ Men come into the world as to a festival,
“ invited to a sumptuous and luxurious ban-
“ quet by the sovereign of the Gods, for the
“ enjoyment of all good things. They have
“ also their different situations assigned them,
“ as guests are ranged in a diversity of position
“ on their couches at an entertainment : some
“ being stationed in a more genial climate ;
“ others, under an unkindly atmosphere. Every
“ thing, in short, resembles the conduct of a
“ banqueting room : if we may pardonably
“ compare the magnificence and divinity of the
“ universe with such ignoble and trivial ar-
“ rangements of mankind. A two-fold light (*i*)
“ was furnished by the Gods from certain lu-
“ minaries, one greater, and the other less ;
“ this, by night, and that, by day. Tables
“ also, he proceeded, were spread before
“ them, plentifully furnished with grain and
“ fruits, some in the state of their primæval
“ growth, and some elaborated by human art :

“ and, in addition to these, the flesh of ani-
“ mals, wild and tame; but without any pro-
“ ductions of the sea. Now the tables, he
“ said, in his rustic manner of comparison,
“ were the meadows (*k*), the plains, the woods,
“ and the shores; some of which teemed with
“ vegetables, some with the produce of culti-
“ vation, some with the supplies of hunting:
“ and all these were enjoyed in greater or less
“ abundance, according to the tables, at which
“ the guests were severally placed; some by
“ the sea, some in the open fields, and some
“ by the side of mountains.

“ The attendants on these guests were the
“ SEASONS (*l*), as the youngest of the deities;
“ elegantly attired, and beautiful to behold:
“ not decorated with golden diadems, but with
“ garlands woven from every species of flower.
“ Flowers also did they dispense, and carefully
“ provided every other requisite of the banquet;
“ bringing in some dishes, and removing others,
“ with opportune accommodation. Dances also
“ were celebrated, in conjunction with every
“ other hilarity of a festive banquet. As for
“ the toils, which we sustain, in husbandry, in
“ hunting, and horticultural plantation; these
“ were no greater in comparison than the trou-
“ ble of a guest at table to stretch himself for-
“ wards, and take the viands with his hand.

“ The cause, said he, of different situations
“ for the guests was the different temperatures
“ of air: inasmuch as those, who are stationed
“ in the extremities, endure beyond others an
“ excess of cold and heat, in the proportions of
“ their respective distances from the light.

“ There was also much diversity in the good
“ cheer and enjoyment of the guests, resulting
“ from a diversity of disposition. The glut-
“ tonous and intemperate neither saw nor
“ heard, but continued eating and stooping
“ down, like a hog in his sty; and then nod-
“ ded to a sleep. Some, not contented with
“ the supplies before them, would stretch their
“ hands across the table to distant dishes; as
“ the inhabitants of the midland countries are
“ eager for fish, and give themselves much
“ trouble to procure them: others, with a
“ wretched insatiableness of temper, under a
“ fearful apprehension from a possible failure of
“ provisions, scrape to themselves and heap up
“ every thing within their reach: yet, after all,
“ when the time of their departure is arrived,
“ they go away without partaking of their
“ stores, in the extremity of want, and leave
“ to others that accumulation of superfluities,
“ which they are unable to carry with them (*m*).
“ Such men become the objects of pointed ri-
“ dicule, and incur disgrace. Some misem-

“ ploy their time in games of chance : the im-
“ plements, however, of these games, and the
“ dice, were not like our’s, but of gold and
“ silver, denominated *money* amongst us ; for
“ which they quarrelled, and were eager to
“ take every advantage to the prejudice of each
“ other and their own emolument. These
“ gamesters indeed were tumultuous and dis-
“ orderly beyond every other class of guests,
“ and the most unpleasant associates of the
“ whole assembly. Sometimes they proceeded
“ through blows and fightings, even to wounds
“ and blood ; and particularly were the drunk-
“ en addicted to these excesses : their drunk-
“ enness, however, was not occasioned by
“ wine, as among ourselves, but by the intoxi-
“ cating influence of PLEASURE. This was
“ the liquor supplied by the Gods, with a view
“ of detecting the disposition of each individual
“ among the guests.

“ Two cup-bearers also were appointed ; a
“ male, and a female : the name of the former
“ was UNDERSTANDING ; of the latter, IN-
“ TEMPERANCE. The wise accordingly ap-
“ plied themselves to the male cup-bearer, and
“ would receive no potion but from his hands,
“ and that rarely, in small cups, and very
“ safely (*n*) tempered. There was one large
“ goblet, that of SOBRIETY ; and a great num-

“ ber in the middle, very various in taste, as if
“ filled with a variety of wines, both gold and
“ silver goblets, with animals embossed through
“ the whole circumference of their surfaces,
“ and circumvolutions of plants and flowers
“ curiously graven(*o*): but the goblet of Sobriety
“ was unembossed, of no great size, and ap-
“ parently made of brass; whence, by fre-
“ quent mixtures and in small portions,
“ draughts of moderate pleasure were derived.
“ To his votaries Understanding performs the
“ office of a cup-bearer with fear and caution,
“ lest perchance by an unguarded mixture he
“ should cause his guest to stumble and fall
“ prostrate: whilst Intemperance was pouring
“ out to the majority of guests Pleasure in
“ unmixed potions, without the least infusion
“ of Sobriety; to some indeed with a very
“ small infusion, for the sake merely of the
“ name: but the effect was scarcely discernible
“ at first, and soon totally disappeared. They,
“ in the mean time, continued drinking with-
“ out any intermission; importunately urging
“ Intemperance to wait on them, and snatch-
“ ing her, each to himself before his neigh-
“ bour: she accordingly ran round the com-
“ pany with all speed, and panting for breath
“ from the eagerness and hurry of her services.
“ Her guests were correspondently employed in
“ dancing, rolling about on the floor, striking

“ against each other, fighting, and clamouring ;
“ like men in ordinary life, when intoxicated
“ with wine. These, however, are disordered
“ for a short period only, and in a proportionate
“ degree ; since a little sleep suffices for their
“ recovery from this slighter effect of drunken-
“ ness : whilst those, under a stupefactive de-
“ lirium of Pleasure, from the greater potency
“ and copiousness of their draughts, are com-
“ mitting these disorders through the whole
“ course of life ; so that Death only can com-
“ pose them. He is the only sleep, capable of
“ relieving such excessive intoxication. Some
“ indeed throw up their pleasure from reple-
“ tion, but with strong convulsions and ex-
“ tremity of anguish : he, however, who can
“ support the painfulness of this exertion, finds
“ an effectual relief, and lives in more tran-
“ quillity and enjoyment for the future. But
“ that inclination to this amendment is ex-
“ tremely rare : on the contrary, their eager-
“ ness for drinking grows upon them, from an
“ incessant and encreasing thirst.

“ Such are the manners of this class ; who
“ abuse the benignity of the Gods to shame
“ and insult. But the men of temperance and
“ moderation participate the indulgences of
“ Pleasure with reserve, at intervals, and un-
“ der the impression of a foreboding fear. As

“ a man of liberal education, when invited to
“ an entertainment by his superiour, a king or
“ nobleman, pays no more regard to the meats
“ and drinks than is actually necessary, but
“ attends to the company and finds his delight
“ in the general circumstances of the visit ;
“ those also disregard the objects of intoxica-
“ tion, with the dice and gaming table, and di-
“ rect their attention to the scenery before them,
“ and to the apartment, in which they are re-
“ posing ; they admire it's magnificence and
“ beauty, they investigate it's original forma-
“ tion, and contemplate all it's furniture, as
“ an exhibition of grand ornamental pictures :
“ the rest of it's œconomy and arrangements,
“ the regularity and the skill, with which the
“ Seasons execute their functions in rotation,
“ are examined by them alone with accurate
“ attention, and a discernment apprehensive of
“ their beauty. Against an apparent insensi-
“ bility to such charms, and an incapacity,
“ when removed from these objects, of repre-
“ senting to an enquirer what they have seen
“ and know, they guard themselves with scru-
“ pulous anxiety.

“ Under the influence of this caution, and
“ participating Pleasure by the admeasurement
“ of discretion, they pass through life in small
“ associations of men similarly minded with

“ themselves. On some occasions of extraor-
“ dinary turbulence and uproar from the vota-
“ ries of Intemperance, their views are con-
“ verted thither ; but instantaneously return,
“ and centre upon themselves.

“ Whatever way the intemperate may chance
“ to go, they are haled and dragged along by
“ their attendants, with much pain and injury,
“ with cries and lamentations ; neither sensi-
“ ble by what road they went, nor how they
“ were entertained, how long soever they
“ might stay. The temperate, on the contrary,
“ retire unassisted, with upright and steady
“ pace, after saluting their friends, and with
“ cheerful and happy countenances, like men
“ conscious to themselves of no impropriety
“ and indecorum.

“ Now the Divinity, after observing with
“ circumstantial inspection, as in his own fa-
“ mily, the behaviour of the guests, is con-
“ stantly employed in calling the most orderly
“ of them to himself ; and, when he is pecu-
“ liarly pleased with the conduct of any indi-
“ vidual, he commands his stay, admits him
“ as his companion and fellow-guest, and re-
“ gales him henceforward with potations of his
“ own nectar. This resembles the beverage of
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“ gales him henceforward with potations of his
“ own nectar. This resembles the beverage of
“ Sobriety, but with superiour transparency

“ and purity : as might be expected in a position of divine and genuine Sobriety (*p*).”

Oh ! Charidemus, what an admirable man have we lost in you ! What a promise of pre-eminence above all your contemporaries have you here displayed ! What a proof of future distinction have you exhibited to your father and fellow-citizens, not in words merely, but by a demonstration of substantial and extraordinary manliness ! For my own part, I am at a loss for topics of consolation to relieve you under the pressure of so grievous a disaster ; utterly unable as I feel myself to alleviate my own sorrow. You alone, Zimarchus ! are capable of soothing and healing the deep affliction of your father, by endeavouring to come as little short as possible of your brother's excellences : for it would be a most disgraceful incongruity for you to possess that wealth, which you have already received from him, with the full inheritance at your father's death, and to slight at the same time his sobriety, and magnanimity, and ardent affection for all that is honourable and good, as if you were desirous of claiming no affinity with his virtues.

A LIBYAN FABLE.

TO execute a Libyan fable, and to exhaust our literary occupation in employments of this nature, is not a very promising undertaking to men of correct and proper sentiments, who never feel ambitious of hazarding their character for credibility: nor again is an entire abstinence from such compositions altogether advisable, grounded upon an aversion to the loquacity of such narratives. In some instances, perhaps, a dextrous application of fables to some seasonable duty of common life, and a comparison of these fancies with present realities and existing truths, may be productive of utility in the regulation of human conduct.

This inventive faculty, this mythological direction of our talents, when conducted with dexterity, bears a resemblance to the practical ingenuity of the horticulturist in his management of plants: for he sometimes, by inoculating and engrafting shoots from cultivated and fruitful trees on wild and barren stocks,

converts an unproductive and useless vegetable into a tree of fertility and service. Exactly in the same manner, a profitable and edifying morality, inserted in tales, originally destitute of improvement, renders fruitful their barren and un instructive natures. Nor is it improbable, that the first inventors of such apologues contemplated this purpose in the fabrication of them, suggesting by latent insinuation to those, endowed with sagacity for a just conception of their intentions, a transfer of the fictitious circumstances in the fable to the practical moralities of life (*a*).

So much, as a certain author said, for the overture of our musical composition. What now remains to be performed, is a relation of the tale itself, an execution of the tune in question; an exhibition to the reader of that similitude, by which the human PASSIONS, or DESIRES, may be correspondently depicted.

In remote ages, an unmanageable and savage race of WILD BEASTS is said to have existed, very numerous, and most plentifully produced in the uninhabited tracts of Libya: countries, which, even at this day, appear peculiarly fertile in all the variety of living creatures, both reptiles and other animals of a noxious character. Among these, that creature, which

forms the subject of our present narrative, was also generated.

The conformation of it's body was singularly strange; little else than a combination of parts the most discordant and incongruous imaginable. It is said to wander in it's excursions as far as the quicksands on the African shore of our Mediterranean sea, in quest of food; hunting after other wild beasts, and among them, after lions and panthers; as these pursue stags, and zebras, and sheep; but that it's most pleasing object of pursuit is MAN: and with no other view does it penetrate to those sands after the people, who live in their vicinity.

Now these sands compose a bay of the sea, which advances to a considerable distance within land; a distance, as the report goes, of a three day's voyage to a vessel with a fair wind and a favourable current: but no vessel, which is carried down to their extremity, can effect it's navigation back; shallows and conflicting currents, with long stripes of isthmus to a vast extent, render that sea altogether difficult and impracticable. No clear basin of water can be discovered in those parts; but a place, hollow and choaked with sand, destitute of a stable bottom, forms a receptacle for the waters of the ocean. Hence, I suppose, are occasioned

in that place those huge banks and accumulations of the sand; the waves in this bay producing the same effect, as whirlwinds in the desert. The continent, indeed, in the neighbourhood is distinguished by a similarity of external form; desolate plains, and hills of sand.

But these savage creatures, if shipwreckd mariners make their escape from the sea to the shore, or if any Libyan accidentally pass by those parts or wander thither, make their appearance instantly, and seize upon their prey.

I shall now delineate the general configuration and fashion of their body. Their face is the feminine face of a comely woman: their breasts and bosom are most exquisitely beautiful; and their neck incomparably exceeds in loveliness that of the most spotless virgin or the most blooming bride, and defies alike the skill of the statuary, or the painter, to represent: the skin brightens with an unsullied lustre (*b*), while Benevolence and Desire glance from their eyes into the soul of the observer. The rest of the body is rigid, and protected by impenetrable scales, with the lower extremities like a perfect serpent, terminating in a serpent's head of peculiar ferocity.

These beasts, however, are said not to have

wings, to be gifted with no faculty of speech and conversation, as the Sphinxes, nor to utter a distinct voice of any kind ; but to hiss only, like dragons, with excessive shrillness. In swiftness they surpass all other animals, whose speed is in their feet ; so that none can possibly escape their power. Other creatures they overcome by strength, but men by stratagem ; exposing to the view their bosoms and their breasts, and bewitching at the same time by the fascinations of their eye, so as to excite an irresistible desire of communication with them, as if they were women in reality. They, in the mean while, continue fixed to the same position, with their looks modestly cast down, in imitation of female coyness : then, by a sudden spring, snatch the spectator, when arrived within their reach, by means of the claws, with which their hands are furnished, and which were studiously secreted from the view. The serpent-part immediately kills the prey by the venom of it's bite ; and, in conjunction with the other component members of this diversified contexture, preys upon the carcase.

Such is this fable : not fabricated for a peevish child, to still his fretfulness and terrify his perversity ; but is here exhibited in this volume by myself, as calculated to convince effectually those of maturer years, more sottish and per-

verse than children, that our **PASSIONS** are a species of beings most irrational and brutish in their nature; treacherously holding forth certain semblances of pleasure, and, by this allure-ment of the inconsiderate with the witchery of their wily blandishments, involving them in a most lamentable and piteous destruction. It is our duty to present these Passions to our eyes, as objects of perpetual alarm: and, just as nurses terrify children, when they desire their food, or pastime, or use any other importunity, at an inconvenient season; we also, when **Luxury**, or **Riches**, or **Lust**, or **Ostentation**, or any other **Pleasure**, solicits to indulgence, should recur to this monster of the fable: lest, by yielding to the delusive enticements of our passions, we be snatched away and destroyed by the most ignominious of all possible perdition. As for the remaining particulars of the fable, a consonant application of them is in no wise difficult to any man, gifted with a prompt expression, and with abundant leisure.

The relators of this fable inform us also, that a certain king of the **Libyans**, from indignation at the destruction of his subjects, undertook to destroy this tribe of beasts, who had taken possession of a thick and wild forest, and stationed themselves in great numbers under the shelter of this retirement. As their residence was

readily discoverable by the serpentine volumes of their bodies, and the pestilential odours, which issued from the spot, he encompassed the forest on all sides with a large multitude of soldiers collected for the purpose, and threw fire upon the monsters from all quarters. Such, as were enclosed in the forest at that time, were destroyed, together with their young; whilst the Libyans fled with all possible expedition from the place, nor rested night and day, till they halted by the side of some river, when they supposed themselves to have anticipated a space too great to be overtaken. That division of those savage creatures, which was absent in quest of food, as soon as they perceived the demolition of their recesses, vigorously pursued their enemies to the river, and compleatly destroyed the whole company; seizing some of them as they lay overpowered by sleep, and others exhausted with insupportable fatigue.

For that time, therefore, his attempt to extirpate this race of beasts was thus rendered ineffectual: but afterwards, Hercules, in the prosecution of his employment imposed on him, that of purging the whole earth from savage beasts and lawless tyrants, came thither also, and burnt up the place: whilst such of the monsters as escaped from the fire, and came

within his reach, he encountered with his club; such, as retreated from that deadly weapon, he transpierced with his arrows.

Perhaps now the ensuing moral is insinuated by this Fable. If one among the generality of mankind undertake to purify his soul, like some impervious wood, thickly occupied by an untractable tribe of monsters; and hope to have attained an effectual deliverance, by a flight not prosecuted with a sufficiently persevering vigour; a remnant of Passions quickly returns upon him, and accomplishes his destruction. But, when a genuine Hercules engages with these monsters (*c*), the son of Jupiter and Alcmene, he exhibits a heart pure, and a mind humanised, to perfection. This intellectual and moral excellence was latently signified by the civilization of the earth through the destruction of savage beasts.

Before we conclude this discourse, are you desirous of an additional gratification from a short appendage to this Fable?—Such is the general persuasion and firm conviction of it's authenticity, that a monster of the same race is said to have appeared in a succeeding period to some Greeks, on their way to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, under the conduct of a powerful protection, consisting of horsemen

and of archers. This assemblage supposed themselves to descry a female, reclining on a sand-bank, with a covering of skin upon her shoulders, like the Libyan women; at the same time displaying her bosom and breasts, and with her neck bended backwards. They accordingly suspected her to be some courtesan, who had come from a village in the neighbourhood, and was exposing herself there to the notice of the passing multitudes: so that two young men of their company, smitten with her beauty, advanced towards her. The one, who outstript the speed of his companion, was seized by the monster, dragged into a hollow in the sand, and devoured. When the second arrived at the edge of this cavity, he saw what had happened, and by a loud shriek brought the rest of the company to his assistance. The beast, however, violently assailed the youth with his serpent-tail, slew him, and departed with a continued hiss. The body was left in a corrupt and putrifying state: but the Libyans, who conducted the expedition, would not suffer their dead companion to be handled; regarding it as the cause of certain death to all, who should venture to come into contact with the carcase.

CONCERNING
THE DÆMON,

IT is a doctrine of the Philosophers, we are told, that the wise man alone is happy, or under the guidance of a propitious DÆMON (*a*).—It is their doctrine indeed, but do you receive it as a truth?—I do.—Why then did you not earlier impart to me also this document of philosophy?—You must first inform me, what you suppose to be the nature of this Dæmon.—I suppose it to be that power which domineers over each individual; that power, by whose will the life of every person is controuled, both the freeman and the slave, the rich and the poor, the monarch and the meanest of the vulgar; and under whose cooperation all our actions are performed.—But do you believe this power, which thus sways the individual, and is by you denominated a Dæmon, to exist within the man himself, or to be situated without him, and there exert this authority and dominion over the subject mortal?—I conceive this Dæmon to exist without.—He must be then, I presume,

another man: for we see, peradventure, one man exercising a jurisdiction over another, or a single person over many; leading them which way, and in what manner, he pleases, either by persuasion, by violence, or both. I am speaking of no strange and unheard-of circumstance. These oratorical demagogues, for example, who hold entire communities in a submissive acquiescence to their will (*b*), and induce them to regulate every public action by their prescriptions and advice, whether they persuade to war, or to the conclusion of a peace; to build the battlements and walls of the city (*c*); to perform a sacrifice; to expell certain citizens, to deprive these citizens of their property, or even sentence them to death. I might instance also in kings and tyrants, and in the master, who has purchased his household servants with money, or is come into absolute possession of them by any other method. In this view of the subject, you might style Lycurgus a Dæmon of the Lacedæmonians; because, by his orders, the Lacedæmonians to this very day are scourged, keep watch all the night in the open air, exercise themselves naked, and endure many other things; which would appear a very harsh and irksome discipline to a different community. Of the same class too was Pisis-tratus at Athens: for you must recollect how the Athenians under his orders and domination,

quitted their residence in the city, and at length, by a continuance in the country, were converted into husbandmen; and there cloathed, in compliance with his injunctions, the whole tract of Attica, naked before his time and destitute of wood, with plantations of the olive-tree. Nor were they less obedient in every other circumstance to his commands,

In after days, you may affirm, perhaps, with propriety, that two other Dæmons sprang up in the persons of Themistocles and Pericles. You are acquainted undoubtedly with the history of these men. You remember how Themistocles compelled the Athenians, who had confined themselves wholly to military operations by land before his days, to carry on a war by sea; to abandon their country and city to the barbarians, their sanctuaries also of the Gods, with the sepulchral monuments of their ancestors; and to transfer all their property on ship-board. Afterwards, the same man directed them to raise a wall round the whole extent of the Piræus, not less than ninety stadia in length, and with other injunctions, similarly irksome and laborious; some of which they continued to perform during his presense with them in the city, and others they proceeded to finish even after his banishment and death.

To succeed them, you may affirm some other Dæmons to have arisen among the Athenians; such as Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, with Nicias, and Cleon, and Hyperbolus (*d*): part, mild and gentle Dæmons; part, most malignant and austere.

We might mention Cyrus also, as a Dæmon of the Persians for a certain period; a Dæmon of a truly liberal and kingly character: who rescued his countrymen into liberty from their slavish subjection to the Medes, and rendered them lords of all the nations throughout Asia.

Other specimens of these Dæmons we may discover in Cambyzes, in Darius, and the succeeding monarchs of that country. As for Cambyzes, he squandered their wealth, shot them to death with arrows, compelled them to military expeditions, laborious and frequent; nor ever suffered them to remain in tranquillity at home. Darius too, after accumulating all the opulence in his power, and forcing his subjects to bring the land into a state of cultivation, even he was not contented without harassing his people by a succession of wars, both arduous and full of danger: such, for example, as that expedition against the Scythians, and the war with Athens.

With no less propriety of application might the Romans also have denominated Numa their Dæmon; and the Carthaginians have transferred the same appellation to Hanno and to Hannibal; as the Macedonians, to Alexander and to Philip: who, after his father had yielded the superiority of power to the Olynthians, and transmitted to him a dominion over a weak and degraded people, rendered them strong and warlike, and masters of almost every state in Greece. But Alexander, shortly after him, transporting his subjects from Europe into Asia, exhibited his Macedonians at the same time the most wealthy and most indigent of men, the most powerful and impotent, exiles and sovereigns together; by adding Egypt, and Babylon, and Susa, and Ecbatana to their empire, but suffering Ægæ, Pella, and Dium, to be wrested from him.

As for Hanno, he metamorphosed the Carthaginians from Tyrians into Libyans, by transplanting them out of Phœnicia into Libya: he constrained them to devote their industry to the acquisition of wealth, by providing marts of merchandise, commodious harbours, and abundant shipping; and by extending their empire through many lands and over distant seas. Hannibal also enabled them for the space of seven-

teen years to possess the sovereignty of even Italy herself in addition to their empire over Libya. Again, by an entire reversal of their condition, they were reduced through his agency to complete destruction, their city was razed from its foundations, and transferred by the Romans to a region far remote (*e*); through the agency of a man, who had destroyed multitudes of those Romans in his former life, and had nearly made himself master of Rome herself, but voluntarily abstained from that enterprize, as it is reported, through vexation at an opposing faction among his countrymen at home. On an estimate of these transactions, this Hannibal, perhaps, cannot be called with justice a good Dæmon either to the Carthaginians, or the Romans.

Numa, on the contrary, when Rome was committed to his guidance; a city, little and inglorious, constructed also on a piece of land usurped from its neighbours, with inhabitants consisting of a miscellaneous and lawless rabble, at hostility with adjoining states; poor, and uncultivated, and subsisting with precariousness and danger: Numa, I say, secured firmly to his subjects that country, which they held from Romulus by a perilous and uncertain tenure; conciliated the friendship of their neighbours, instituted laws and politics, both hu-

man and divine ; and, in short, became the fundamental author of all the happiness of Rome in that prosperity of succeeding times ; a prosperity, denominated *good Fortune*, or *the benignity of the DÆMON* (*f*).

I might exemplify this sentiment by instances of other cities, and families, and individuals, who have enjoyed happiness or misery through the instrumentality of their kings and rulers ; but, if I mistake not, my opinion has already been illustrated and established by a sufficient number of examples. Now, if you feel inclined to call these governors a sort of DÆMONS to the subjects under their authority, as the primary causes of success and miscarriage to their respective citizens, I shall admit the denomination with readiness and pleasure.

DIOGENES,
OR
CONCERNING VIRTUE.

DIOGENES of Sinope, after the sentence of exile from his country was pronounced against him, with the external appearance of a man in the most abject condition, comes to Athens; and meets there Euclid of Megara, who had also incurred banishment on account of the expedition with the younger Cyrus (*a*). The rest of the philosophers, whom Diogenes encountered in that city, he quickly regarded with contempt, but associated with Antisthenes (*b*), not so much from a personal attachment to the man, as from an approbation of his doctrines; which he esteemed to be the only true philosophy, and alone capable of beneficial influence on human manners. As for Antisthenes himself in competition with his philosophy, Diogenes was accustomed to reprove him for an immoderate effeminacy; and would scoffingly call the man *A trumpet*; which could not listen to its own voice, however loud and piercing (*c*). Anti-

sthenes in his turn endured this severity with good humour, from his extraordinary veneration for the frankness and magnanimity of his reprover; and, by way of retaliation for *the trumpet*, compared Diogenes to a *wasp*; which made but a little noise with it's wings, but inflicted with it's sting a most painful wound. Antisthenes accordingly derived the same pleasure from the unrestrained boldness of his conversation, as riders from a horse of spirit; who are not offended by a certain degree of unmanageable fierceness, when united with a steady courage and a laborious perseverance under toilsome exercise: but the dull and sluggish animal they dislike and reject. Sometimes Antisthenes would stretch, and sometimes relax, the vigour of this freedom in Diogenes; as a musician varies the tone in the strings of his instrument, with a suitable caution against bursting them asunder.

After the death of Antisthenes, as Diogenes thought none of the remaining philosophers worthy of his society and conversation, he transferred his residence to Corinth, and there continued to pass his days: he hired, however, no house, nor took up his lodging with a friend, but abode in the open air at the Cranium (*d*). His motive for living in this city was, the multitudes of people, who resorted thither, allured by the convenience of the harbours, and by

the elegance and beauty of the courtezans (*e*): nor was the position of that city a less inducement; so stationed as to be the thoroughfare, in a manner, of all Greece. He reasoned with himself, that a man of understanding should be there ready with his assistance, and there fix his habitation, where he discovered the greatest concourse of heedless people, for the purpose of reproving and chastising their inconsideration and absurdity; as a good physician should be attendant with his services, where sickness is most prevalent (*f*). When the period of the Isthmian games (*g*) returned, and all the world was collected on the Isthmus, he also went down to this solemnity; gathering entertainment and instruction from contemplating the bustling eagerness of men in these vast assemblies, the peculiarity of their propensities, the various objects of their visit to such a distant place, and the several accomplishments, in which they boasted.

On these occasions he rendered himself perfectly free of access to every one, who was desirous of conversing with him; and would frequently declare his astonishment at the certain forwardness of all mankind to apply for his assistance in the tooth-ach, if he had professed a remedy for that pain, and a dexterity at an easy extraction of the tooth; or, if he had un-

dertaken, peradventure, to cure the maladies of the eye, at the willingness of all, afflicted in that organ, to shew their eyes to him for advice: or again, if he were acquainted with a remedy for the spleen, the gout, or a defluxion of rheum, at finding no scarcity of patients: but now, said he, because I profess an ability of healing every man, who can prevail upon himself to follow my advice, of his ignorance, and his depravity, and his sensual intemperance; not a creature makes an application to me, nor would request me to cure his ailment, though I should even bribe his attendance with a sum of money (*h*): as if intellectual and mental maladies were less grievous than disorders of the body; and an overflowing of the spleen, or a decayed tooth, could be thought a more serious distemper, than a soul sottish and undisciplined, unmanly and headstrong, addicted to licentious pleasure, illiberal, passionate, a prey to melancholy, crafty, and in all possible respects corrupt.

There happened to be collected at this time, around the temple of Neptune, a set of rascally sophists, clamouring, and reviling one another, with such as called themselves their disciples, in sharp contention with their associates; and a variety of authors reading publicly their senseless compositions: many poets also singing out

their poetry, in the midst of applauding auditors; with a large company of conjurers, exhibiting their tricks; abundance too of fortune-tellers, delivering their marvellous interpretations: thousands of declaimers, with their puzzling law-questions and decisions; and not a few mercenary tradesmen, in the exercise of their imposition on all within their power.

Some of the company turned their attention to Diogenes also among the rest: none, however, of the Corinthians; who did not expect to reap any benefit from a man, whom they beheld perpetually resident in their city (*i*). Strangers only from distant countries resorted to him; and these without exception, after listening a very short time to his discourse, or a transient salutation, went their way, through fear of his reproof. Such conduct induced Diogenes to compare them with the dogs of Sparta (*k*): these, he observed, as they stand in a crowd of people, meet with many to stroke and play with them, but find no ready purchasers among men unacquainted with their useful properties.

Now, when one of the company askt Diogenes, Whether he also were come to be a spectator of the combatants? No, he replied; but to be a combatant myself.—The man laughd at this; and further enquired, Whom he expected

for antagonists? Antagonists? said Diogenes; with his customary look of archness and intelligence: I expect antagonists of the most unmanageable and unconquerable fierceness; whom not a single Greek of the whole assembly would dare to look in the face: none of your runners, however, or wrestlers, or jumpers, or boxers, or throwers of the javelin and the quoit; but antagonists of sobriety and decorum.—Who are they? the man enquired. LABOURS and HARDSHIPS, says Diogenes: antagonists of a most sturdy character, and invincible by infatuated and besotted people, who consume their entire days in eating, and snore away their nights; but an easy victory to opponents so slender and emaciated, as to have their bellies indented like a wasp (*l*). Or can you imagine these men to be good for any thing with their huge paunches, which they ought to reduce by all kinds of evacuation and exercise, or rather, if they entertained just notions of the subject, by much severer operations; by seething them, as whales are seethed from the salt and sea-water; and by liquefying their fat, as the blubber of dolphins is molten down, at my native city of Sinope, into oil for common uses. People, like these, in my opinion, possess souls, inferiour in dignity to the souls of swine. Whereas a man, of a nature truly generous, looks upon Labours as his principal antagonists, and loves to maintain with them

an incessant combat by night and by day; not for a parsley-garland (*m*), as if a goat were his competitor, nor for a garland of wild-olive, and the pine-tree; but for the prize of happiness and virtue, during the whole period of their lives; not for that moment only, when the umpires at Elis, or at Corinth, or the community of the Thessalians, proclaim him victor. Nor does he feel alarmed at his competitor, nor pray that the lot may fall on any other combatant; but he challenges them all by turns, maintains a pertinacious struggle with Hunger and Cold and Thirst, is able to support himself under the torments of the scourge, nor relaxes from his steadfastness by the application of the knife and caustic. As for Poverty, and Exile, and Disgrace, and other similar contingencies, he considers nothing of this kind as formidable, but views them merely as trivial inconveniences: so that the perfect man will frequently divert himself with all such events; just as children are amused by their variety of sports, by the dice and ball.

These antagonists, he remarkt, appear formidable and irresistible to men rendered cowardly by their vices: but, whoever shall despise their power, and approach them boldly, such a combatant will discover them in experi-

ment to be destitute of resolution, and unable to master their intrepid and vigorous opponents: like dogs exactly in this respect, which closely pursue the fugitive, and bite and tear, if they overtake him; but are terrified by one, who faces them with spirit, and retire from his approach; till at length they become so familiar and fond as to fawn upon him. The generality of mankind, alarmed by these adversaries, and always flying from their presence, so as never to confront them with their eyes, invite and stimulate their assaults. It fares with men in this case, as with a pugilist; if he anticipate his antagonist, he is able to continue the combat, throws him down, and thus acquires a superiority in the conflict: but, if he recede through fear, he exposes himself immediately to the fiercest blows. Thus, Toils and Hardships exert no considerable power against one, who receives them with a contemptuous indifference, and resolutely closes with them; but assume a semblance of greater magnitude and more terrific aspect to every adversary, who retreats, and declines the contest.

You may descry an illustration of these sentiments in fire: if you trample upon it with violence and resolution, it is extinguished; but you will be severely scorched by assailing it

with slackness and trepidation. Thus children, in their sportive recreations, will sometimes quench a flame even with their tongue. Antagonists of this intrepid character much resemble those athletic combatants, who employ all their strength, and watch every advantage, in the battle (*n*); striking, and throttling, and tearing, and sometimes eventually murdering, each other.

Besides this contention, however, with Labours, another conflict is appointed for us, not merely more formidable than those, which I have stated, but, in reality, arduous and perilous to a degree incomparably greater, the conflict with PLEASURE; who does not oppose with open violence, but ensnares by subtleties, and beguiles with a cup of most bewitching poisons. Her battle bears no resemblance to the battle thus described in Homer's poetry (*o*):

Then at the ships a combat sharp arose
With renovated fury: faulchions long,
Deep-gashing hatchets, dealt destruction round.

Her battle, I say, corresponds not to this description. Direct assault is not the method, to which Pleasure has recourse; but delusive artifice, and the fascination of dire enchantments, are her weapons; enchantments, like those, by which the sorcerous Circe, as Homer relates

the story, was able to bewitch the companions of Ulysses; transforming some of them into swine, some into wolves, and others into every variety of savage beasts (*p*).

Such is the character of Pleasure! Her insidious attempts are not confined to a single process: she endeavours, by machinations infinitely multifarious, to accomplish the destruction of mankind, whether waking or asleep, through the instrumentality of all their senses, their sight, their hearing, their smell, their taste, their touch; by their meat also, their drink, and their lustful appetites. No security can be found in sleep from stationing a row of watchful sentinels, as against an ordinary enemy, because her principal attack is conducted during that season of repose; partly by engaging Sleep himself to enfeeble and enslave them, partly by sending forth against them deceitful and plotting dreams, to recall her to their recollection. Labour, for the most part, makes his approaches through the medium of the Touch; but Pleasure commissions the collective senses of our constitution to execute her purposes. With Labour it is our interest to grapple in a close encounter; but Pleasure we must flee with all possible precipitation, and should maintain no more communication with her, than what unopposeable Necessity may exact. In

a contest with Labour, the most resolute combatant proves the most successful; but the truest resolution is displayed by a hasty and distant retreat from Pleasure: because an escape from entire perdition is not possible to him, who comes into contact with this fatal adversary, or hazardously attempts a frequent communication with her. When she once prevails, and has established an influence over the soul by her magic potions, then succeeds the metamorphosis of Circe, who strikes the victims with her wand, and afterwards finds no difficulty in compelling them to the close confinement of a sty: from which period they unchangeably continue to the latest period under the semblance of a swine, or wolf.

Some also are transformed by Pleasure into Serpents; creatures, of a subtle and pernicious nature; and into reptiles of all descriptions. These attend upon her, and pay her homage; desirous of her enjoyments, and content in her service, but embarrassed at the same time by infinite vexations: for Pleasure delivers them over, after a compleat subjection by her authority, to Labours the most irksome, and insurmountable.

Now, continued Diogenes, not a single individual of this untoward and impracticable

multitude thinks proper to pay the least attention to myself, who display an intrepidity and enterprise, capable of this generous contest both with Pleasure and with Labour; but are occupied in gazing at a contemptible rascality of leaping, running, and dancing blockheads. Nay, if they had seen Hercules himself in the very execution of his arduous and mighty conflicts, even that hero would they have received with indifference and unconcern; contemplating all the while other competitors in the Games with infatuate astonishment; your runners and your wrestlers, such as Zethus, and Calais, and Peleus; with others, admired, like Jason and Cinaras, for their personal beauty, or their ample riches.

Some have told us, with much approbation and applause, that Pelops had a shoulder of polished ivory: as if any man could derive the least possible benefit from a limb of ivory or gold, from eyes of emerald or diamond, who lived a stranger to the inward qualities of his soul! In the mean time, the relaters of these marvellous properties compassionated Hercules for the difficulties and dangers, with which he was contending; and styled him the most wretched of mankind. From the influence of this false conception, his toils and his achievements were denominated *miseries*; as a life of

labour is vulgarly called a *miserable* life: now he is dead, however, they honour him above all his species, they regard him as a Divinity, and assign the blooming Goddess of Youth for the hero's bride; nay, what is strange, they universally address their supplications to one, so compleatly wretched! to defend them from that wretchedness, which achieved his immortality! Eurystheus, moreover, a man of no value in their account, they make the master and controller of that hero: though not an individual on earth ever offered prayers, or performed a sacrifice, to this Eurystheus. Hercules, however, perambulated Europe, and the whole continent of Asia, with views and dispositions nothing similar to the competitors in these Games. For could he have penetrated to the extremities of the globe with such a load of flesh upon him (*q*), with such a necessity of excessive food, such an addiction to profound and continued sleep? Watchful was he; spare and unsuperfluous of flesh, like lions; sharp-sighted, quick of hearing, regardless alike of cold and heat, wanting no coverlets, no delicate cloaks, no purple carpets, for luxurious enjoyments: with an undressed skin about his shoulders, and a craving stomach; succouring the virtuous, and chastising the depraved.

Thus Diomed the Thracian, because he was

arrayed in gorgeous apparel, and sat upon his throne, drinking and revelling through the day ; and insolently exposed both strangers and his own subjects to carnivorous horses ; Hercules dasht to pieces with his club ; as you would break up an old and rotten cask. Geryon also, the lord of innumerable oxen, and the most opulent and haughty of all the monarchs in the West, he slew, together with his brethren ; and drove away their cattle.

Again ; Busiris, whom he found most devotedly engaged in gymnastic exercises, and intemperately eating all day long, and priding himself excessively on his skill in wrestling, he fractured in every limb by violent contusion on the ground ; as a wallet full-crammed is ruptured with it's fall. The Amazonian queen, though she assailed him with her captivating charms, and expected to seduce his affections by her beauty, he despoiled of her girdle ; demonstrating by this rencounter the superiority of his soul to the influence of female loveliness, and evincing a conscious preference of his own proper accomplishments to all the winning graces of the sex.

Moreover, having discovered in Prometheus, according to my conception of the fable, an ar-rant sophist, a martyr to popular applause, with

a liver swelling and growing from the breath of praise, and wasting again beneath the blast of censure ; Hercules, actuated by a commiseration of his condition, with an intermixture of menacing reproof, delivered the man from his stupefying vanity and perverse contentiousness ; nor departed, till he had restored him to sanity and sobermindedness. These achievements he performed voluntarily, without any compulsion imposed upon him by Eurystheus : to whom, however, those apples, which have been deemed golden, the apples of the Hesperides, as soon as they came into his possession, he readily presented, as baubles of no value to himself, with a wish of ill fortune in their company to his tyrannic persecutor. What benefit could be expected by a man of spirit from those golden apples, which had rendered no service even to the women, their first possessors ?

At length, under the decrepitude and imbecillity of declining age, fearful, that his future life might not correspond to his former glories, and afflicted, I presume, by a supervening sickness ; he devised for himself the most honourable remedy ever yet applied by man ; constructing on mount Oeta a funeral pile of the driest wood, and manifesting his indifference to the torment of the flames. But, previously to this transaction, that illustrious and

dignified exploits might not appear the sole objects of his benevolent ambition, he carried out, and entirely cleared off, from the stable of Augeas, an enterprise of incredible exertion! the accumulated filth of many revolving years: because he thought his duty to consist no less in a magnanimous contest with the vanities of popular opinion, than in combating the crimes of savage monsters and lawless men.

Whilst Diogenes was thus haranguing the assembly, a crowd collected round, and listened with extraordinary delight to his discourse. But he, bearing in mind, I presume, that variety of conduct, which he had just commended in the case of Hercules, discontinued his address, and exhibited without ceremony the customary coarsenesses of his behaviour (*r*). This peculiarity converted immediately the approbation of numbers into contempt, and induced them to regard him as a madman; whilst the sophists returned to their brawls and wranglings, like frogs in the mud, when the water-snake, their destroyer, is out of sight.

CONCERNING
*SLAVERY AND LIBERTY**.

DISCOURSE I.

MEN desire to live free above all other things: they speak of **LIBERTY** as the greatest of mortal blessings, of **SLAVERY**, as the most ignominious and calamitous of events; but in what this Liberty and this Slavery consist, they are not at all apprised. Accordingly, we may remark, that no part of their exertions in life, generally speaking, is directed to effectuate an escape from this harsh and degrading evil, Slavery; or to obtain possession of that Liberty, which ranks so high in their estimation: but, on the contrary, they are incessantly occupying themselves in those pursuits, which necessarily enslave their votaries to the end of life, and debar them for ever from acquiring that idol of their affections.

Yet should not our astonishment be excited by their incapacity of attaining and preserving that invaluable excellence, of whose character they are wholly ignorant. If, for example, they were unacquainted with the different natures of

a sheep and a wolf, but were generally persuaded, that the possession of one was eligible and productive of utility, of the other, inexpedient and prejudicial; could we express surprise, if they should sometimes be terrified by the sheep, and flee from it, as from a wolf; or approach and handle the wolf, under a persuasion that it was a sheep; when similar effects are the customary operations of Ignorance on the conduct? that Ignorance, who compells us to pursue, or shun, what is alike contrary to our intentions and our interest.

Let us, however, turn our attention to an enquiry, how far the generality of mankind entertain clear perceptions of Liberty and Slavery. Our accusation of their Ignorance, it is possible, may be causeless; and they, in the mean time, more competently informed on this subject than on any other. Suppose then, that an enquirer should ask them, What they mean by Liberty? They would reply, perhaps: "A freedom from subjection, and an unlimited ability
" in every individual of acting as he pleases." Now, should another question be addressed to our respondent, of this purport: "If you composed one in a chorus, would you esteem it
" a part of suitable demeanour, and the demeanour of a free man, to disregard and disobey the leader of the band, and to sing in

“ or out of tune, just as humour prompted you ;
“ and, on the contrary, regard, as a degrada-
“ tion and servility of character, a compliance
“ with the wishes and directions of the presi-
“ dent to begin and suspend the song, in con-
“ formity with his injunctions ?” To this irre-
gularity and indecorum he would in no wise, I
should imagine, give his assent.

Again : Were he asked, whether, as a passenger in a ship, he should esteem his liberty to consist in a contempt for the pilot and his orders ; so as to stand, if his inclination so suggested, when bidden to sit down ; and, when commanded to clear the vessel of water and to furl the sails, should refuse to work the pump, or put a finger to a rope : neither, I apprehend, would he call this perversity of selfish humour the privilege of a free and enviable agent. Nor would he venture to pronounce that soldier to be a slave, who should act in obedience to his captain's orders ; stand up, when he gives the word ; take his meals, and handle his arms, or place himself in the ranks, advance, and retreat, by no other rule, than the arbitrary direction of his commander.

In like manner, we never think of stigmatising a sick person with the name of slave, because he conforms to the prescriptions of his

physician, harsh and difficult as they sometimes are: nay, not unfrequently both hunger and thirst are rigorously enjoined; and, if the physician choose to bind his patients, they are bound that instant; to cut or burn them, the knife and caustic are incontinently applied, to whatever extent he pleases. If the patient should resist, the whole family will unite their exertions in execution of the order; not only the free men of this household, but the very domestic servants of the diseased, will often tie down their master, bring the caustic to the physician's hand, and cooperate with the severest applications of his art.

Surely then the man so situated we shall not pronounce to have lost his liberty, because he submits to many unpleasant and painful operations at the bidding of another: no more than Darius (*a*), the Persian king, could have been thought bereaved of his liberty, because, in consequence of luxation to his ankle-bone by a fall from his horse in hunting, he permitted his physicians to strain and twist his foot, that the dislocation might be rectified; when these physicians too were Ægyptians, whom he held in slavery: or Xerxes could be deemed a slave, when the vessel was endangered by a tempest on his retreat from Greece, for an implicit obedience to the pilot, and a voluntary injunction

imposed on himself, not even to nod his head or move his foot, in opposition to the wishes of his conductor.

It is not, therefore, in an exemption from obedience to all mankind, nor in the power of acting as we please, that true Liberty can be maintained to consist. But, perhaps, our opponents will alledge, that men, in all these instances, comply from the dictates of self-interest; passengers with the pilot, soldiers with their general, and a patient with his physician. These severally obey the respective impositions, say they, of their directors, because in subserviency to their own advantage: whereas despotic masters are not apt to regulate their requisitions by the benefit and convenience of the slave, but by the measure of their own selfish accommodations.—Be it so. Is it expedient then and beneficial to the master, that the servant should die, or be sick, or misconduct himself in his station? No man will venture to affirm it: but, conversely, the master's interest, I presume, is most effectually promoted by the life, and health, and abilities, of his servant. Now these very considerations, so beneficial to the master, will appear useful and convenient to the servant also; so that prudent masters will impose eventually no offices on the servant, but

such as must prove instrumental to his welfare, thus indivisibly associated with their own.

But you will rejoin, "The man, for whose purchase a sum of money was laid down, must necessarily be a slave."—Nay; because money has been frequently laid down for the most free and respectable of men; for the ransom of numbers from the enemy, of numbers from the hands of the assassin: some have paid to their own masters the price of their redemption; and surely were no longer slaves to those, of whom they had bought their liberty!

You will confess, however, that person to be the slave of him who can impose what services he pleases, can scourge, and bind, and crucify him.—How so? Are not robbers able to act in this manner towards those, whom they have gotten into their power, without converting them into slaves? Is not a judge also invested with authority to pronounce a sentence of imprisonment and death, and whatever else he pleases, against many culprits arraigned at his tribunal? Yet the accused person is not his slave: at least not beyond the single day, in which the trial has taken place; and for that day, perhaps, without abandoning our argument, we may allow him to have been a slave.

Still, at all events, we may venture to assert, comprehensively and in general, that man to be free, who has the power of doing what he pleases; and him to be a slave, who is deprived of this power.—Not so: because this position is in no wise applicable to passengers in a ship, to the patients of a physician, soldiers in an army, the scholars of a grammarian, of a musician, of a gymnastic teacher, of the professor of any other art or science; for all so circumstanced have no power of complying with their private humours, but must submit to the directions of the pilot, the prescriptions of the physician, and the dictates of the governing superintendent in each respective situation specified.

Universally, in common life, no man is able to gratify his private inclinations in all respects; for, if his conduct be inconsistent with the constituted laws of the society, he will be punished for his transgression.—You concede then that individual to be free, who can act as he pleases with respect to such objects, as are not forbidden, or enjoined, by the laws; and him, on the contrary, who does not possess this power, to be a slave?—How so? Can you then imagine yourself empowered to perform every action, which is not expressly registered in the laws (*b*), however disgraceful and scandalous it may be deemed by the universal judgement of

mankind? Such, I mean, as to execute the office of the tax-gatherer, of a procurer, and some similar employments.—I must confess indeed these occupations also to be inexpedient for free men, inasmuch as a penalty is annexed to engagements of this description, the hatred and indignation of our species.—Well: does not the licentious rake pay the penalty also of his licentiousness, and the inconsiderate man of his indiscretion, by the evils, which spring from neglecting their property or their health; by the regular consequences of unjust or brutish demeanour to their fellow-citizens? Some suffering, either in body or estate, or, what is of much more importance, some injury to the soul, must prove in all cases, without exception, an inevitable result of such excesses and improprieties.—I must acknowledge the truth of these assertions.—Such practices then are not permitted to mankind?—Certainly they are not permitted.

In one word, therefore, things vicious, absurd, and inexpedient, it should seem, are improper to be done: but what is just, good, and beneficial, becomes not only an object of expediency, but an indispensable requisition of human duty?—Such are my sentiments.—We have arrived then, at this conclusion: No ACTION of a depraved character, and destitute of utility,

can prove unaccompanied by punishment, whether it be the action of a Greek, or a barbarian, or of a slave purchased by money?—I grant it.—But actions of an opposite description are equally allowed to all; and the man, who performs them, as uniformly passes through life secure from punishment, as the perpetrator of forbidden immoralities brings down the vengeance of his misconduct on his own head.

What think you then? Can any person execute the offices of life, but those, who know them; and any, but the ignorant, transgress these offices: or can the ignorant also perform these duties?—By no means.—Men of understanding, therefore, may lawfully direct their actions by the current of their inclinations; but the sottish and unwise attempt to gratify their propensities, when gratification is unlawful: whence it follows of necessity, that men of understanding are free, and are at liberty to execute every purpose of their hearts; but men, destitute of wisdom, are not only slaves, but invariably prone to unlawful practices.—This seems a just conclusion.—Of course then, we infer Liberty to consist in a clear apprehension of what actions are permitted and what forbidden; as Slavery originates in an ignorance of this distinction.

We further conclude also from the principles of this disputation, that nothing may rescue the great king of Persia, notwithstanding the sublime tiara upon his head, from the character of a real slave, or redeem every action of his life from unlawfulness and impropriety ; because all the actions of such a monarch may be deficient in utility, and come attended with retributory chastisement to the performer : whilst another, with the appearance and the title of a slave, who may have been transferred by purchase to as many masters as you please, and, if chance has so determined, be fettered with huge and heavy chains, may live in reality more free than that mighty sovereign of the East.

Nay ; this conclusion is inadmissible. It seems to my apprehension an absurdity of the most extravagant complexion, to speak of a man in chains, of one stigmatised with the brand of slavery (*c*), or of one grinding in a mill (*d*), as more free than the Persian king.—Indeed ! Have you ever been in Thrace ?—I have.—You must have seen then in that country the free women full of punctures (*e*) ; punctures too, numerous and variegated in proportion to the rank of each individual and the superiour distinction of her family.—What is the purport of this observation to the subject of our enquiry ?—The pur-

port? It proves, I presume, that, if a queen, as far as it appears, may be stigmatised, a man similarly stigmatised may also be invested with regal dignity.

Perhaps, then, you have never heard of that nation (*f*), whose monarch is enclosed in a very lofty tower, without permission to descend from the place of his confinement? Or, if you had been informed of such a circumstance, you would have rejected instantly, as a narrative utterly incredible, the story of a Sovereign, bound, and detained in a prison. Yet, peradventure, these very people, the subjects of this king, would have listened to you with equally mistrustful admiration, if you had told them, with respect to the Persian emperor, that you were acquainted with a certain king, who rode about in his chariot, and went whithersoever his inclination led him.

But you are not able to show me a king in chains.—Not at this day possibly among men: but at least the sovereign of the Gods, the supreme and oldest Deity, was bound in chains, as we are told; for both Hesiod and Homer and other sages (*g*), if their testimony may be received as legitimate, relate this circumstance of Saturn. Nor verily did he suffer this slavish treatment from an enemy, as an act

of violence and injustice, but from the most righteous of the Divinities and his greatest friend; as from one, who was performing for his welfare a most royal and beneficial office! To these things, however, men are indisposed to advert, nor will easily be convinced, that a king may be found in the guise of a beggar, of a prisoner, or any other character devoid of reputation: yet they hear in the mean while, how Ulysses was but a ragged beggar in his own dominions; and, though a petitioner to the suitors, a monarch notwithstanding, and lord of the palace which entertained him; whilst Antinous and Eurymachus, whom Homer is constantly calling kings, were but abject and miserable beings. From an observance of these things, I say, the minds of men are ignorantly diverted; and have recourse to certain marks of discrimination for themselves, such as tiaras, and sceptres, and diadems, that their royal dignity may not pass unnoticed: just as the owners, forsooth, impress characters upon their cattle, to distinguish their flocks from the property of their neighbours. At the instigation of no other motive did the emperor of Persia devise that expedient of wearing his turban alone erect; and, whenever any Persian besides himself presumed to wear a turban in that posture, death was the punishment of such presumption: doubtless, because it is a practice clearly inadmissible and

inexpedient, that the turban should be worn erect by two individuals among so many myriads of men! This same emperour, however, was under no solicitude about maintaining his *mind* erect, nor anxious to exhibit an elevation of understanding superiour to the intellectual endowments of his subjects. But, as kings in those days carried about them the badges of their royalty, is it necessary now for us to wear similar characteristic symbols of our LIBERTY, and to walk with the cap (*h*) upon our heads, as an essential device for an universal and adequate distinction between a FREE MAN and a SLAVE?

CONCERNING
SLAVERY AND LIBERTY.

DISCOURSE II.

I HAPPENED lately to be in company with two people, who were engaged in a sharp dispute on the subject of *SLAVERY* and *LIBERTY*; not before the tribunal of the judges, nor in the forum, but in a private house, as we are now; for a considerable length of time: and no small number of partizans were zealously espousing the cause of the respective disputants. They appeared, as far as I could discover, to have made a gradual transition to this controversy from a prior altercation; and he, who found himself overpowered by the arguments of his opponent and reduced to an inextricable dilemma, had recourse to railing, an alternative too frequent in debates; and was insulting the other, as not entitled to the name and estimation of a *FREE-MAN*. His antagonist smiled upon this assertion with a countenance of most entire complacency; and, Whence, said he, my good friend! may we acquire this dexterity of discerning be-

tween a free-man and a slave?—It is, replied the other, a very practicable acquirement. I know myself, for example, and this company to be all free-men; as I know you connected by no communication at all with Liberty.—This excited a laugh amongst the company: the man reproached, however, was in no wise daunted by their scoffs; but, as game-cocks raise themselves up, and acquire additional courage from the blow, he grew rather inspirited by this insult, and askt his opponent, how he became so well informed of his condition and his own.—Because, he replied, I know my father to be as true an Athenian born, as any man whatever; and your's, to have been the slave of such a man:—mentioning his name.—And what, rejoins the other, prevents me at least, even on this supposition, from associating and exercising with the spurious citizens at Cynosarges (*a*), when my mother was a free-woman, and perhaps a citizen, though my father were the man, whom you suggest? Have not many women, true citizens by birth, but reduced to a state of poverty and desolation, borne children, some to strangers, and some to slaves;—of whom part were advertised of their husbands' condition, and part remained ignorant? A child, however, born under these circumstances, is no slave; nay, he is all but a genuine Athenian.

Yes, continued the former; but I know your mother also to have been a fellow-slave with your father.—Be it so, says his opponent: and are you certainly acquainted with the quality of your own mother?—Perfectly well: she was a citizen herself, descended from ancestors, who were also citizens; and she brought with her an ample portion.—But will you undertake to affirm on oath, that she was the daughter of that father, whom she challenges as her own? For Telemachus (*b*), you know, would not take upon himself to be resolutely positive in asserting the veracity of Penelope, the daughter of Icarius, notwithstanding her extraordinary fame for chastity, when she declared Ulysses to be his father: you, however, seem prepared with a solemn oath, if any one require it of you, not only in asseveration of your own legitimacy, but the legitimacy likewise of your mother. Nay, you can ascertain, it seems, the father to the children of any female-slave whatever; as in this instance of my mother. Is it an impossibility then, in your opinion, for a woman to bear children to any other man; to one, who may be free; or even to her own master? Or are not in fact many Athenians constantly connecting themselves with their maid-servants; some clandestinely indeed, but others without the least endeavour at concealment? Surely we

are not all of us individually more respectable than Hercules; who did not think himself disgraced by an intercourse with the slave of Jordanus: and from this connection originated the kings of Sardis.

You seem also to have forgotten, how Clytemnestra, the daughter of Tyndareus, and the wife of Agamemnon, was not only connected with her husband Agamemnon, but, during his absence in a foreign country, with Ægisthus also: and how Aërope, the wife of Atreus, admitted the embraces of Thyestes. I might exemplify this argument by many additional instances of compliance in the wives of illustrious and wealthy men, through ancient and modern times; and enumerate the children also, which sprang from this variety of intercourse. Can you then be certain, that she, whom you call a servant, maintained her fidelity to her husband with such conscientious scruple, as to abstain from all communication with another man? Or will you undertake to decide incontrovertibly, in the case both of yourself and me, that each of us is the child respectively of that woman, who is esteemed and called our mother? On the contrary, you must be acquainted with many Athenians, and those among the most conspicuous and notorious characters in the city, who have been discovered, in the subse-

quent periods of their life, to be merely the supposititious children, not of the father only, but even of the mother, to whom they were constantly imputed. Events of this nature you may see perpetually corroborated and exhibited in theatrical representations both by comic and tragic writers: yet can you venture, notwithstanding, to pronounce with equal pertinacity of asseveration, in the particular instances of yourself and me, as if you were intimately admitted to the secret, on the circumstances of our origin, and the authors of it!

Are you not aware, continued he, that the law allows an action of slander against the man, who casts a reproach upon another, and is unable at the same time to produce any thing like a demonstration in support of his assertion? —Yes, said he; I know at least very well, that free-women, when they bear no children, many times, from uneasy disappointment at their barrenness, substitute an offspring, with a view of retaining the affections of their husbands, and perpetuating their family: women, I mean, in the enjoyment of an affluent condition, that enables them to maintain the children, which they adopt. But slaves, on the other hand, we well know, frequently destroy their progeny before the birth, or after it is born, if an opportunity occur of accomplishing

their purpose : some even with the connivance and consent of their husbands, to rescue themselves from the irksomeness and inconveniences of education in addition to the miseries of servitude.—You except, I presume, replied the other, the woman slave of *Æneus*, the spurious offspring of *Pandion* : for his shepherd at *Eleutheræ*, and the wife of that shepherd, so far from exposing and discarding their own children, took up the children of other people, which they found in the high-road, without knowing whose they were, and brought them up as their own offspring ; nor at any future time would willingly confess them to be aliens. But you, perhaps, had been prepared to revile both *Zethus* and *Amphion*, before the detection of their real origin ; and would have sworn most steadily, that even these sons of *Jupiter* were but slaves.

Upon this his adversary replied, with a very sneering laugh : “ Your vouchers of these facts “ truly are the *Tragœdians* ! ”—Yes ; verily ; and vouchers, to whom the Greeks give implicit credit ; regarding those personages of the drama as *Heroes* and *Demigods*, and performing religious sacrifices to their honour, as to beings of that sacred character : temples also, as you may see, are dedicated to their divinity. Observe further, if you think proper, that

Phrygian slave also of Priam, who brought up Paris, on mount Ida, as her own son, after receiving him from her husband, who was a herdsman, and acquiesced without reluctance in the education of the infant. As to Telephus, the son of Auge and Hercules, he was nurtured, as antiquity informs us, not by a woman, but a stag (*c*). Can you imagine now, that a stag would be touched with greater commiseration, and more eagerness to impart her nourishment, than a human nurse, who had accidentally found the child?

But, to come closer to the point. Should I allow my parents to be such as you affirm them to have been, how came you so well acquainted with the servility of their condition? Had you an intimate knowledge of their parents also: and are you equally ready to depose on oath, that each of them were the children of two slaves; and so upwards to their remoter ancestors? Because it is manifest, that a single free-man in a series of progenitors redeems incontestibly every descendant from the character of a real slave. But, my good friend! men have generally agreed upon the impossibility of this fact; namely, on the existence of any community from the very commencement of the human race, in which innumerable multitudes of free-men, have not been incorporated, as

well as slaves : so that in reality even despotic monarchs, and kings, and prisoners, and branded slaves, and hucksters, and curriers, and every other diversity of human occupation, have unavoidably exchanged in miscellaneous rotation their employments and callings, their variegated fortunes and all the multiplicity of their discordant circumstances, with each other. Or are you not apprised, that the poets were actuated by no other motive, in enrolling their heroes immediately among the Gods, than the concealment of their real origin and ancestry ? They tell us also, how the majority of these personages are derived from Jupiter ; and with this view, that those of their own age, who have arisen to kingly power, and have become the founders of communities, with those, who have taken upon themselves the titles ascribed to the Gods (*d*), may not relapse into such stations and conditions of life as are esteemed ignominious and disparaging by men.

Upon these principles, and under this reciprocation of human things, according to the just contemplation of them by ourselves and much wiser men than we, the claim of free birth can be arrogated by yourself with no more validity and security, than by any one of those, who are reputed the most absolute slaves imaginable : unless, peradventure, you will antici-

pate me by carrying your forefathers to Jupiter, or Neptune, or Apollo; and mine, to a slave.

I consent, his opponent answered, to wave these pretensions of pedigree and ancestors, since you seem to consider them as circumstances of such instability and fluctuation : otherwise, you will probably soon prove yourself another Zethus and Amphion, or a second Paris, son to the Trojan king. You must allow at least, what we all well know, that you live at present in the capacity of a slave.—What then ? said he. Are all those men real slaves, whose condition of life is servile ? On the contrary, are not many of them free-men, detained in slavery by oppression and injustice ? We observe, accordingly, in many instances an appeal to the jurisdiction of their city ; and satisfactory documents are publicly produced, in ascertainment of their claims to freedom. Others again endure their degradation to the end of life, from their inability to bring forward demonstrative testimonials of their pretensions ; or induced to acquiescence by the gentle and benevolent treatment of their masters. As, for example, did not Eumæus (*e*), son of Ctesius, and grandson of a man perfectly free and opulent, named Ormenus, submit to a voluntary servitude in Ithaca with Ulysses and Laërtes ; where he never was anxious to embrace one of those nu-

merous opportunities in his power of sailing home, if his inclination had so disposed him? Did not many free-born Athenians also, who became captives in the Sicilian expedition, pass the remainder of their days in slavery, both in Peloponnesus and in Sicily? Nor less, in a multiplicity of other battles, have the captured uniformly become slaves: part, for a certain interval, till the accomplishment of their redemption; part, to the termination of their life. Even the son of Callias (*f*), we know, continued a long time in Thrace, after the discomfiture of the Athenians by a battle near Acanthus, in the capacity of a slave: so that in process of time, when he had effected his escape and returned home, he engaged in a law-suit for recovering the inheritance of his family, and occasioned infinite vexation to his kindred.—You mean, I presume, the fictitious Callias; not a son of the genuine Callias, but his groom; who prosecuted that imposture with the more success from his personal resemblance to the real son of Callias, who fell in battle, with the additional advantage of an accent purely Græcian, recommended by the accomplishments of literature.—Nay, but the same destiny has befallen an infinity of other men; and the names of some, who reside amongst us in a servile capacity at this hour, I could not, with impartiality and truth, obliterate from the rolls of Free-

dom. Or, shall we agree in denominating an Athenian taken in the wars and conveyed into Persia, or, peradventure, carried off and sold into Thrace or Sicily, a free-man necessitated to become a slave ; but, if a Thracian or a Persian, not merely descended from free parents, but even the son of some potentate or sovereign, be transported hither, shall we presumptuously refuse to acknowledge him as free ? There exists, you recollect, a law at Athens, and in many other political societies, which forbids the admission of one born a slave to the rank and privileges of a citizen : but the son of Callias, allowing him to have actually survived that battle, and to have returned from Thrace, after a residence of many years in that country and a frequent experience of the lash, to his native city Athens, no mortal would have ventured to oppose in the vindication of his political immunities and distinctions. So that even the law, you see, does not contemplate in the character of slaves those men, who have been involved in an unjust and involuntary servitude.

Either tell me, I solemnly entreat you, what have I done, or what have I suffered, to your knowledge, which authorises you now to pronounce me a person of servile capacity and character?—I know to a certainty that you are maintained by your master, that you follow him as a

servant, that you execute all his orders ; and are chastised for disobedience.—By this rule then, replies the other, you make children the slaves of their fathers ; since the sons of many a poor citizen, from his inability to provide a maintenance for slaves, attend upon their father, when he resorts to the school of public exercises, or goes out to supper : they are supported also by their parents, receive correction at their hands, and conform implicitly to whatever injunctions they deliver. But possibly you will not scruple, upon these grounds of obedience and chastisement, to call boys at a common school, or at any other place of youthful discipline, the slaves of their preceptor.—Nay, said his opponent : for the masters of grammar-schools, and the superintendants in other educational institutions, though they dictate magisterially and occasionally punish, neither bind their scholars, nor sell them, nor sentence them to labour in the common prison : but a master is empowered to inflict all such extreme severities upon his slave.

You seem then not to be aware, that even this despotical authority, on which you are enlarging, is permitted in many communities, and those of an admirably constituted polity, to fathers, who may be disposed to exercise it upon their children ; if they choose to fetter them, for instance, or sell them, or to execute any measure

still more arbitrary and severe ; nay, they are furnished with the power even of putting them to death, without trial, or even the allegation of a single charge against them. Still, however, these subjects of their authority are not properly the slaves, but the children, of their parents.

But, granting that I were in a state of the most abject slavery, and had been a legitimate slave from the beginning, what hinders me, said he, from becoming now as free as the freest in the city ; or you, on the contrary, from converting to the most absolute slave alive, even though you sprang from ancestors of most entire and unsuspected freedom ?—Certainly, his opponent answered, I cannot discover by what means I, who am a free-man, can become a slave ; nor can I deny you the practicability of attaining freedom, if your master should discharge you.—It seems then, my good friend ! that no person can become free, unless his master dismiss him from his servitude ?—How is it possible by any other method ?—Just as the Athenians by a public decree, after the battle at Chæronea, conferred freedom on those servants, who had contributed to defend their country on that occasion : so that, if the war had continued, and no reconciliation taken place between them and Philip, great num-

bers of the Athenian servants, possibly even all, would have become free, without the dismissal of every individual by his respective master.—I concede this particular case to your argument, when a community proclaims a public emancipation of their slaves.—Well: and is it not possible for me to emancipate myself?—Yes; by paying an equivalent in money to your master. That is your method of emancipation.—Nay: possibly as Cyrus emancipated not only himself, but all the Persians, such an immensity of people! without laying down money for their redemption, or the manumission of a master: and know you not, that this Cyrus was but a lamp-maker to Astyages? Yet, when he found himself able, and saw his opportunity, he became at the same moment a free-man, and the monarch of all Asia. Shall I then be deemed a slave incapable of true freedom? Is it not also a daily practice with myriads in a state of freedom to dispose of themselves to slavery by the terms of a written contract; not merely for ordinary services, but for the most irksome drudgeries of the harshest servitude?

Thus far the spectators present continued their attention as to that sort of disputation, which is conducted with more jocularly than seriousness: but afterwards they took an inter-

ested part in the debate, and began to consider as a great absurdity the want of a criterion to discriminate with indubitable certainty the free-man from the slave, and that laxity of definition, which admitted everlasting contradiction and indeterminate enquiry. Accordingly, they abandoned the relative topic of this specific individual and his condition, for a general disquisition into the absolute and essential qualifications of abstract slavery.

It was their opinion, that every individual, who was possessed by another man as his own peculiar property, as that man might possess money or cattle, so as to use it in every respect according to the suggestions of his own will, might reasonably and truly be called, and was in fact, the slave of such possessor.

In opposition to this statement, the former disputant, who had controverted the point of slavery with his antagonist, wisht to be informed, What constituted after all the true proprietorship of any possession to the user? Because, he proceeded to remark, many have been known to possess for a long time, and in some cases even to have received by transmission from their ancestors, both houses, and farms, and horses, and large herds of oxen, against every principle of justice. After the same man-

ner a human being may equally be possessed by another inconsistently with justice ; inasmuch as servants, like all other property, come into our possession, either by gratuity, by inheritance, or by purchase ; some also have had their origin in the family ; and these are distinguished on that account by the peculiar appellation of *home-born* servants. There remains still another mode of acquisition : when a captive in battle, or a man, clandestinely and forcibly seized, becomes our prey, and is made a slave : a mode, which I apprehend to be the most ancient medium of acquiring this species of property. For it cannot be thought probable, that slaves originally, and in the first instance, were born from slaves ; but we must presume, that a seizure of them was affected either by plagiarists, or in war : and hence a necessity of service to have been imposed by their possessors. - If you concede the reasonableness of this position, that primitive method of acquisition, on which all the rest are suspended, seems extremely fragile and utterly destitute of stability : because, whenever such slaves are furnished with an opportunity of escaping from confinement, what hinders them from becoming free ; since they had been iniquitously detained in slavery, and were in reality no slaves at all ? Nay, in some instances, they have not only effected an escape for themselves, but enslaved their masters also ;

and thus, with the tables turned, as the proverb phrases it, the condition of the respective parties has become diametrically reversed.

To these observations one of the bystanders made the following reply:—This particular description of people, he said, could not possibly be styled slaves in strict propriety of speech: but the term would be adequately applied to their immediate posterity, and to their descendants of the second and the third generations.—How so? their opponent answered. For if a fraudulent or forceful seizure be indispensably the constituent principle of slavery, the direct subjects of such possession may be denominated and esteemed slaves with much more appearance of congruity, than their immediate or remoter progeny. If, again, the essence of slavery consist in a descent from parents, who were slaves, the descendants of free men, so seized, by no possible construction can ever become slaves at all. What a length of time, as we learn from history, did those Messenians remain in slavery (g)! who not only recovered their liberties at last, but regained likewise the territory of their ancestors. For, after the Lacedæmonians had been worsted by the Thebans at Leuctra, the Thebans in conjunction with their allies carried the war into Peloponnesus, and compelled the Lacedæmonians to give up

the whole country of Messenia, and again established at Messene the descendants of those Helots, who had once been slaves to the Lacedæmonians, but had escaped from Sparta to Messene. Yet no man pretends to charge the Thebans with injustice in this transaction, but all unite in highly extolling the rectitude and honour of their conduct. If, then, this original mode of acquiring slaves, from which all other modes derive their existence, be destitute of justice, none of them can consequently be deemed just; nor can a single individual either be a slave in reality, or be truly and substantially discriminated by such appellation.

Let us deliberate, however, whether the slave, originally so denominated, be not he, for whom a price of money was paid down; or, as the generality of mankind seem disposed to conclude, the person, who is born of parents reputed slaves: an opinion, in my judgement, which brands with an illiberality, worthy of a slave indeed, every man, who entertains it. For, in truth, we must frankly acknowledge many slaves by name to display in their deportment an extraordinary liberality of accomplishments; and many individuals, who pride themselves on being free, to be but despicable slaves in conduct, not demeaning themselves

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correspondently to their claims of GENEROUS NATURE and A NOBLE BIRTH; titles, by which our early ancestors were accustomed to characterise a native votary of VIRTUE, without troubling themselves with a scrupulous inquiry into his family and parentage: but, in process of time, these characteristic denominations of the virtuous were abusively transferred by some to the possession of enormous wealth and popular celebrity of reputation. We may be satisfied of this observation by recollecting, that the very same language preserves it's application at this moment, in similar circumstances, to game-cocks, to horses, and to dogs, which was appropriated in the earlier ages of the world to mankind only. The spectator, when a swift, a spirited, and generous horse is presented to his notice, without asking any questions about his sire, whether he were an Arcadian (*h*), or a Mede, or a Thessalian, styles such a horse nobly-born, from a simple contemplation of the animal himself. So too with regard to dogs: any man, acquainted with their excellences, if he remark an animal of this description to be swift, and eager, and sagacious, in the investigation of his prey, thinks his pedigree a superfluous enquiry; as, whether he be a Carian, a Spartan, or of any other country, that you can mention; and styles him

at once a generous and noble dog. The same observations admit an equal justness of application to game-cocks, and to every other creature.

We maintain, therefore, with decision the same conclusion to be manifestly reasonable in reference to mankind. He, whose nature is nobly attempered to Virtue, stands alone entitled to the distinction of GENEROUS AND NOBLE BIRTH, though his parents and his ancestors may be unknown (*i*). In reality, no man can be generous, who is not also nobly born, in the proper acceptation of those terms; nor nobly born, without being at the same time free: of course then, every person, devoid of this virtuous generosity, must of necessity be a slave. Nor, if the terms of Liberty and Slavery had been applied, by the custom of language, to game-cocks, and dogs, and horses, should we have thought of any distinction between *well-bred* and *free* animals in these several kinds, or between a *bad breed* and *slaves*. In the like manner, with reference to men, it is by no means consistent with propriety to discriminate the generous, the noble born, and the free: Propriety requires us rather to esteem them as one and the same character in all respects; nor will she distinguish the ill-bred, and the vulgar-

· minded, from the slave. Indeed, right Reason no less countenances our deductions, and proves this misapplication of terms not to have originated in the lectures of philosophers, but in the coarse usages, and illiterate conceptions, of common men.

CONCERNING
WAR AND PEACE (a).

A MULTIPLICITY of other topics, and in reality every subject of disquisition in connection with the activities of political and common life, may be considered as equally interesting and pertinent both to philosophers and rhetoricians: such rhetoricians, I mean, as are not mere declaimers of a vulgar and mercenary character, with views directed solely to dishonourable lucre and with a propensity to despicable wranglings. Such are the topics of pecuniary contracts in a community, public counsels, and the principles of legislation: and in the class of truly accomplished rhetoricians we may rank Pericles and Thucydides, I presume, at Athens; and, before their times, Themistocles, and Clisthenes, and Pisistratus, whilst he was contented with the title of a rhetorician and a public speaker. For, with respect to Aristides, and Lycurgus, and Solon, and Epaminondas, and whoever else resembles them, Propriety demands, that we should regard these distin-

guished characters rather as philosophic statesmen, or political rhetoricians, in the generous and genuine acceptance of the oratoric art. Under the same head of general disquisition we may place deliberations on the equipment of naval expeditions and the enactment of laws, as Lycurgus was a legislator to Lacedæmon; on the intercourse of the sexes, the acquisition of property, to what extent it should be carried and by what means conducted; deliberations concerning marriage, the management of the coin, honours and disgrace, and the construction of public edifices; whether it be advisable to fence a city with walls and battlements, or, as the divine oracle advised the Lacedæmonians, to leave it unfortified; concerning the apparatus of war and military tactics, not that discipline only, which relates to their ordinary exercises and evolutions, but such institutions, for example, as Epaminondas is said to have introduced; the association, I mean, of devoted friends in the same battalion (*b*), for their mutual defence, and for the provision of an ocular testimony to the bravery, or cowardice, of each other. That battalion, which was dignified by the denomination of the Sacred Band, proved the primary cause of the victory at Leuctra over the Lacedæmonians, when the collective force of all Greece was ranged around the standards of this people. But, what is the

main point of all, and becomes a frequent topic of deliberation and debate, is the question concerning War and Peace: which has now been proposed as the subject of our discussion.

Now every enquiry of this complexion is called in the treatises of philosophers, an enquiry concerning the *Fitness* or *Expediency* of a measure: as, for instance, whether it be expedient to marry, to engage in public life, to establish a kingly government or a democracy; and among these questions, according to my conception of the subject, this too deserves a station; Whether we ought to engage in WAR? Philosophers indeed not only investigate these points abstractedly and universally, but in connection with the relative considerations of *When*, and *By whom*, and *Against whom*; and under what coincidences of events, or failure of such coincidences, this measure should be adopted: so that superficial declaimers differ from philosophers in confining their enquiries to the specific expediency of a war, suppose, on the part of the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians, or of sending assistance to the Corcyræans against the Corinthians; whether, again, it be adviseable for Philip to form an alliance with the Thebans against the Phocians; or for Alexander to cross over into Asia. But with these partial deliberations no question is

found to intermingle itself like this: "Whether a war be justifiable against those, who have been guilty of no previous injustice?" or, "If a previous injustice were committed by the people, on whom the war is meditated, what is the actual amount of that injustice?"

Philosophers take a remote and comprehensive view of a proposition; and investigate, from a minute inspection of the naked circumstance itself, it's essential properties and character. But an anticipated decision upon every topic, and a settled persuasion by previous enquiry, so as to engage ourselves with efficiency and conviction in the transaction, and to give suitable advice to others, when the proper season has arrived, is abundantly preferable to the hesitation and precipitancy, which execute inadequately, from a seizure by surprise, an object not ascertained by prior knowledge. For common orators, when a subject of discussion is imposed, with no more insight, than other men, into the point before them, and with no prospective deliberation on it's specific properties, form their own judgements, and regulate the judgements of their auditors, by a coarser and superficial consideration of it's merit: but philosophers come furnished to the debate with a foresight of events and a decision on their

nature from settled principles ; so that, if any city, or any nation, or any king, invite their consultations, they find themselves enabled to produce, not a purfunctory and temerarious opinion, but a determination at once luminous and solid : nor will their judgements on the same question prove different on different occasions, from the mutable operations of resentment, rivalries, and animosities, or the impressions of sordid lucre ; like a scale, if I may borrow a similitude from one of those very orators, which uniformly wavers with the varying weight of the bribe, which is thrown into it.

Now in these reflections I mean no censure on rhetoric and it's legitimate and honourable professors ; but a pointed disapprobation only of UNPRINCIPLED DECLAIMERS, and hypocritical pretenders to this art.

ADIOGENES,

OR

THE ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE (a).

AT a celebration of the Isthmian Games, Diogenes went down to the Isthmus, with an intention of being present at that solemnity; an attendance which his near residence at Corinth rendered probable and easy. But he mingled in these public festivals, not from the same inducements which influenced the generality of men, a curiosity to see the combatants, and a love of intemperate gormandizing; but, undoubtedly, with a view of surveying the manners of mankind and their wayward propensities. He was well aware, that the dispositions of man are most conspicuous at public festivals, and in a crowded concourse; whilst they lie concealed in war and camps under the disguise of fear and danger. He thought also, that the mind was more susceptible of sound and corrective discipline in such circumstances of unrestrained jollity; as disorders of the body are found more manageable by the physician, when ex-

posed to view, than a distemper which lurks within; and he was convinced, that men, negligently left to their own unbridled indiscretion at these times of riot and festivity, were soon irrecoverably undone. These motives induced the attendance of Diogenes at this solemnity of the Games.

He was wont to say of himself, with his usual jocularitv, that he readily admitted the appellation of *Dog* (*b*); (for this was the name constantly given him, in consequence of the uniform sharpness which he employed in his reproofs) because dogs followed their masters to public meetings, and, though they bit nobody, would bark and quarrel with rogues and ruffians; but, after the company was laid to sleep by a general intoxication, would keep awake, and guard them.

As soon as his appearance at the public spectacle was known, the Corinthians shewed no forwardness in their attention to this philosopher, familiarised as they were to the sight of him in the city and the vicinity of the Cranium: for mankind is not apt to be solicitous about those, who frequently come in their way, with whom they know themselves able to converse, whenever their inclination prompts them; but rather

direct their notice towards one, whom absence has long separated from them, or whom they have never seen at all. For this reason also, the Corinthians were very little benefited by the discourses of Diogenes; no more than sick people, who should refuse to employ a physician, resident among them: but satisfied themselves with an occasional and transient inspection of the man. Such spectators, however, as happened to be present at the Games from remoter residences, from Ionia, and Sicily, and Italy, some also from Libya, and Thessaly, and the Borysthenes; these eagerly courted his conversation, and were anxious to hear him speak, if it were but a word or two, either to boast hereafter of their good fortune to others, or with a view of improving by his instructions. His reputation for severe expostulation, and for keen dexterity of instantaneous retort to any question, was universally diffused. But, as those only, who are ignorant of its nature, think of tasting the honey from Pontus, and immediately on tasting reject it with disgust for its bitterness and ungrateful flavour; so many made trial of Diogenes through officiousness and inexperience, but fled precipitately from the sharpness of his reproofs. To the satirical censures, with which the philosopher lashed another, every individual could listen with satisfac-

tion, whilst he shrank himself and retreated from the stripes of so sharp a tongue. With that playfulness and irony, in which he would frequently indulge, they were abundantly delighted: but, as the tone of his discourse became gradually strained to a pitch of seriousness and severity, his freedom was no longer tolerated. In which respect these auditors resembled children, who take pleasure in sporting with a dog of generous disposition; as soon, however, as importunity, or vexation, excites a louder barking, they are terrified exceedingly, and become half-dead with fear.

Diogenes (c), regardless of their conduct, proceeded to exercise the customary pungency of his conversation without reserve; neither courting the applauses of the spectators, nor uneasy at their censures. This impartiality and indifference were alike conspicuous, whether a personage of opulence and rank, a general of an army, or a distinguished potentate, engaged with him in discourse; or a man in the most humble station of vulgar life, and even an abject beggar. He would endure contentedly the untutored simplicity, and sometimes even the absurdities, of men in the most mean conditions of society; but supercilious and self-important insolence, which plumed itself on wealth, or pedigree, or other external superiorities of

distinction, he bore down with all the pressure of reproof, and all the sharpness of unabating chastisement,

Accordingly, some contemplated the man with sentiments of admiration, as the wisest of his species; by some he was accounted mad (*d*): others again despised him as a low and vulgar person; or contemptuously reviled him: some insultingly threw bones at his feet, as to a dog. Not a few would come up to him, and twitch his cloak; at which others exprest their indignation, and protected him from such rudeness: just as we read in Homer of the scoffs and insults offered by the Suitors to Ulysses, and his endurance for a season of all their audacity of persecution and licentiousness of abuse.

But Diogenes persevered in the same uniformity of dignified deportment to the end: and in reality resembled a majestic and uncontrouled sovereign in the habit of a beggar. As he readily bore with the intoxicated, and the mad through sottishness and ignorance, men of this degenerate and licentious stamp conversed with him under a heedless inattention to his character; but the dispensers of the Isthmian prizes to the victors, and others of more respectability and eminence, felt an influence of awe and apprehension, when they casually came in his

way, and past along with silent lips, and a look askaunce, from the presence of this philosopher.

Afterwards, during the same solemnity, when Diogenes placed on his head a garland from the pine-tree, the Corinthians sent their servants, and ordered him to take off the garland, nor presume on such an infringement of the regulations established in the Games. But he requested these messengers to inform him, What regulation made that same action, the wearing of a garland, unlawful in him, and lawful in others?—"Because, Diogenes!" said one of them, "you have gained no victory."—Yes, he replied, I have gained many victories over a multiplicity of mighty antagonists; not of that vile and despicable class, which you may observe in this place, wrestlers, and throwers of the quoit, and runners; but antagonists much more strong and unmanageable than they: **POVERTY**, I mean, and **EXILE**, and **DISGRACE**; **IRASCIBILITY** also, and **GRIEF**, and **DESIRE**, and **FEAR**, together with a brutish monster, of insidious and effeminating influence, the fiercest combatant and most unconquerable of the whole number, **PLEASURE**; an adversary, which has baffled all the magnanimity both of Græcians and Barbarians, whose souls have fainted and sunk down under this unequal conflict: Per-

sians, and Medes, and Syrians, and Macedonians, and Athenians, and Lacedæmonians,—all have yielded, but myself. Am I then not worthy, in your estimation, of this garland? Or will you take it from my head, and bestow it on one of these gorbellied champions in the Games? Go then, and tell your masters, who sent you hither, from me, that themselves transgress the laws of decorum and propriety, by parading about with garlands on their heads, when they have achieved no victory over a single combatant: tell them also, that I have conferred celebrity and glory on the Isthmian games by that garland, which my own strenuous exertions have elaborated for me: not a garland, which might constitute an object of contention for goats (*e*), rather than for men.

After this, observing a person stalking from the Stadium in the midst of so immense a multitude, as sometimes not even to touch the ground, but to be borne aloft by the concourse round him; some following close upon him with loud exclamations, others leaping with exultation and raising their hands to heaven; others again throwing garlands and fillets at the man;—as soon as he was able to approach, he enquired, What this tumultuous assemblage of people was doing; and, What had happened? The man replied: I have gained the victory, Diogenes! over the runners in the Stadium.—

What is the nature of this victory? said he. Your understanding, I presume, has acquired not even the slenderest improvements from your superiority of speed over your competitors; nor are you become more temperate and continent than before, nor less timorous, nor less a prey to melancholy; nor, peradventure, will you live henceforward with more moderate desires, or under greater freedom from uneasiness and vexation of spirit.—Be that as it may, the man rejoins, I excell all the other Greeks in the swiftness of my feet.—But, said Diogenes, you are not swifter than the Hares, nor the Stags: and yet these creatures, though the swiftest of all others, are at the same time, the most timorous, afraid both of men, and birds of prey, and of dogs; so as to lead a life of uninterrupted misery. Indeed, you must be aware, are you not? that speed is in reality a symptom of timidity: for the most timid animals are also invariably the swiftest. In conformity with this dispensation of Nature, Hercules was slower of foot than most men; and, from his consequent inability of laying hold on his antagonists by speed, was accustomed to carry a bow and arrows, and thus arrest a flying adversary with his weapons.—Yes, said the man: but the poet tells us, how Achilles, the swift-footed, was a warrior likewise of incomparable fortitude.—And whence, replied Diogenes, can we infer

the celerity of Achilles? for we find him incapable of overtaking Hector, after a pursuit of an entire day (*f*). However, are you not ashamed of priding yourself on that property, in which you must acknowledge your inferiority to the meanest animals? Nay, I suppose, that you would not be able to outstrip even a Fox in speed. But, after all, at what distance did you leave your competitors behind?—A very small distance, Diogenes! and this very circumstance makes my victory so admirably glorious.—It seems then, said Diogenes, that your triumph and felicity depended on a single step (*g*).—No wonder: we were all the fleetest runners imaginable.—By how great an interval, do you think, a Lark would have gone over the Stadium before you all?—But they have wings; and fly.—Well! replies Diogenes: if swiftness then be a proof of excellence, it were better to be a Lark, than a man: so that our commiseration for Larks, and Lapwings (*h*), because they were metamorphosed from men into birds, as mythologists inform us, is unseasonable and unnecessary.—But I, said the victorious racer, who am a man myself, am the swiftest of mankind.—Yes! replied Diogenes; and is it not probable, that among Ants also one is swifter than another? Yet are Ants objects of admiration to their fellows on that account? Or would you not think it a laughable absurdity in

any man to admire an Ant for his speed? Suppose again, that all your competitors had been lame, would you have prided yourself, as on some masterly achievement, for outstripping the lame, when you were not lame like the rest (*i*)?

By such conversation, as this, he produced in many of his hearers a supreme contempt for the boasted accomplishment in question: and the man too departed, under no little mortification and humiliation, from this interview with Diogenes. Nor was the philosopher of little service to society in this respect, by reducing to a smaller compass and assuaging the tumours of a senseless infatuation, as swellings on the body subside from scarification and puncture, whenever he saw any man inflated with a frivolous conceit of unsubstantial excellence, and carried beyond the limits of sober sentiment by qualities utterly destitute of intrinsic worth.

On the same occasion, he observed two horses, tied together at one spot, fighting and kicking each other, with a croud of spectators collected round them; till at length one of the horses, wearied with the contest, brake the rope, and ran away. Diogenes immediately went up to the horse, which had continued in his place, put with much gravity the garland on

the creature's head, and loudly proclaimed him
“ A Conqueror in the Isthmian Games; be-
“ cause he had vanquished his enemy in a
“ trial of skill at kicking !” This excited an
universal burst of tumultuous laughter from the
spectators ; and produced, with a great admi-
ration of Diogenes, so much ridicule of the com-
batants, that numbers of people went home im-
mediately without a desire of beholding their
contests : especially those spectators, who
were inconveniently accommodated, and strait-
ened for room.

7

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ON KINGLY GOVERNMENT.

(a) **THIS** is the *second* of *four* discourses on the same subject, and the only one of the *four*, which I thought likely to please any English reader.

(b) Meaning the authors of the *old* comedy, which was wholly satirical in its manner, accompanied with excessive vulgarity and most abominable obscenity of language; of whom were *Eupolis*, *Cratinus*, and *Aristophanes*, mentioned by Horace, sat. i. 4. 1. whereas the *new* comedy, of which *Menander* and *Philemon* rank as the most distinguished masters, was very opposite in its character: no less conversant, however, in the delineation of human manners, no less pure in diction, with most instructive and dignified morality, and urbanity without licentiousness. By the *Parian bard* is meant *Archilochus*; the severity of whose Muse may be sufficiently understood from Horace; see his epode vi. 13. epist. i. 19. 23—32. In the Greek Anthology are several small poems on *Archilochus*, all referring to the unrelenting morosity of his temper; and one concludes with advising “the traveller to “pass softly by his tomb for fear of rousing the nest of wasps, “which had stationed themselves upon it.” The loss of *Menander* and *Philemon*, who survive only in a few fragments, must be numbered among the first calamities, which Time and Barbarism have occasioned to Literature.

(c) A verse slightly altered from Homer's *Iliad*, i. 288.

(d) *Hesiod* in his poem called *Works and Days* gives directions about *Cattle*, *agricultural Instruments*, and *Farming*, in general: to which our author alludes.

(e) Pope's *Iliad*, book xi. ver. 89.

(f) These verses relate to a poem indubitably spurious, which describes the contest of these two poets, Homer and Hesiod; and are fabricated from a passage now extant in the *Works and Days*. ver. 652—658.

(g) The passage intended occurs in Pope's *Iliad*, book ii. ver. 649.

(h) This *freedom of speech*, which can give no uneasiness but to tyrannical and wicked rulers, whose *deeds* shun the *light* BECAUSE THEY ARE EVIL, was conceded to his subjects by this wise and magnanimous prince in all its latitude. A specimen of his indulgence in this respect from *Plutarch's apophthegms* will not be unacceptable to the liberal and independent mind.

When Nicanor was accusing Smicythus to Philip, as a man, who was always reviling him, and the courtiers were of opinion, that Smicythus should be sent for and chastised: "Nay," said the king, "but Nicanor is not among the least respectable of the Macedonians: it is our duty therefore to examine ourselves, if peradventure we have not been guilty of some fault."

Afterwards, conformably to this generous disposition, when he understood Nicanor to be labouring under distress from poverty and neglect, he ordered a sum of money to be given him: and, when Smicythus was mentioning what encomiums Nicanor was always pronouncing upon Philip, "Observe," he replied, "how we have it in our power both to be well and ill spoken of:" intimating, that generous and benevolent actions would never fail of securing the respect and affection of mankind.

(i) Our author mentions this fabulous circumstance more at large in his *eleventh* oration. Stesichorus in one of his odes falsified some particulars of Helen's story, and was punished, as the fable goes, with blindness for this offence, but was restored to sight on writing a *palinodia*, or a recantation of his former ode. The 16th ode of Horace's first book was

written in imitation of this famous *palinodia*; and the reader will find an account of that transaction in some of the commentators on this ode of the Roman poet. See also Lucian, *ver. hist. ii. sect. 15.*

(*k*) In a poem, of which a fragment only remains, called *the Shield of Hercules*; a fragment, equal to any thing of the same character in Homer, and exciting an incurable regret for so great a loss to poetry. We exclaim with the woman in the fable over the fragrant cask:

O! *suavis anima! qualem te dicam bonam
Antehac fuisse, tales cum sint reliquæ!*

The writer of this note, Deo volente, intends an edition of *Hesiod* soon after his liberation from confinement, and of all the minor Greek poets in the heroic measure.

(*l*) The *women's apartment* here mentioned perpetually recurs in Homer and all other classic authors, and was with the ancients, as with the Orientals now, a retired and detached upper room in every dwelling. An inattention to this particular has depraved and converted into nonsense a very beautiful verse in the cxxviiith Psalm, which should be thus translated:

Thy wife in the retirement of thy house, as a fruitful vine;
Thy children around thy table, like branches of the olive.

(*m*) Phoenix mentions these particulars in Pope's *Iliad*, book ix. *ver. 576.*

(*n*) The jealous and litigious disposition of Olympias is noticed by Plutarch in his *life of Alexander*, tom. iv. *sect. 9.* edit. Reiske; see also *Ælian*, *var. hist. xiii. 36.* and the commentators there.

(*o*) *Iliad ix. 443.* of the original, *ver. 571.* of Pope's translation.

(*p*) This praise of Diomed's eloquence principally respects, I presume, his speech to Agamemnon in the ninth *Iliad*, *ver. 43.* of Pope.

(*q*) *Iliad i. ver. 249.* of the original. Pope's version, *ver. 332.* is inaccurate.

(r) In *Iliad* ii. 442. of Pope.

(s) This transaction is related in the same book, ver. 275.

(t) These lines occur in his *Theogony*, ver. 80.

(u) He was sent thither by his father Amyntas as a hostage, and was educated in that city with Epaminondas. Their tutor was a Pythagorean philosopher, named Lysis: see *Diodorus Siculus*, xvi. 2. *Plutarch*. in *Pelop.* sect. 26.

(v) This alludes to that admirable saying of Pythagoras, when one askt him in what we resemble the *Divinity*: “*In BENEFICENCE,*” he replied, “*and TRUTH:*” see *Longin.* de sublim. init. *Synes.* p. 177. *Phil. J.* ii. 347. *Diod. Sic.* lib. i. sect. 90. *Strab.* p. 717. *Themist.* p. 192. *Suid.* in v. *Αγαθοεργία*. The essence of Christianity consists in this principle of *Benevolence*, and not in the visionary feelings and superstitious notions of *Grace*, *Sanctification*, and all the inapplicable, unintelligible jargon of enthusiasts, unacquainted with the value and propriety of scriptural phraseology. Thus undistinguishing and universal kindness is laid down, as the criterion of our *resemblance to God*, by Christ himself, in *Matt.* v. 43—48. The rewards of futurity are promised to no other conduct, but that conformable to this principle, *Matt.* xxv. 31—46. It is mentioned as the peculiar praise of Jesus, our great exemplar, that *he went about DOING GOOD*; *Acts* x. 38. and a traditionary maxim to his disciples, of unlimited application and inestimable worth, is preserved by the same historian; a maxim, which breathes the spirit of *Divinity* itself: *IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE, THAN TO RECEIVE*: *xx.* 35. This rule, of unexampled pregnancy and perfection, forms a sufficient substitute for all the moral institutes of philosophy, as they respect our conduct in *society*; and is in it's essence and tendency supersedent of all human laws.

(w) But little is left of this poet to console us besides his name and his reputation. The magnitude of this loss may be sufficiently estimated from the character given of him by the judicious and equitable *Quintilian* in his oratorical institutes, book x. chap. 1. “The vigour of genius, says he, in *Stesi-*

“ chorus may be conjectured from the subjects of his poems;
 “ the most memorable wars and the most renowned
 “ captains; and from his ability of supporting on his lyre
 “ the weight and energy of epic poesy. He invests his
 “ characters, both in speech and action, with a becoming
 “ dignity; and, if he had restrained himself, he would have
 “ been the most successful competitor of Homer: but he is
 “ luxuriant and diffuse; which is a fault indeed, but the
 “ fault of a fruitful and teeming intellect.”

(x) This beautiful and interesting circumstance occurs in Iliad ix. ver. 245. of Pope's translation.

(y) See Pope's Iliad, vii. 93.

(z) See Plutarch's life of Nicias, sect. 7 and 8.

(a) See Julius Pollux, i. segm. 6. and the commentators there.

(b) See Lucian's Icaromenippus, sect. 24. and the notes.

(c) The former particulars of this passage will be found in the *seventh* Odyssey of Homer; the latter in the beginning of the *fourth*: and I take this opportunity of recommending to the reader the entire episode of Ulysses' adventures with Alcinoüs, as the most interesting portion of Homer's works, whether we respect the marvellous parts of the narrative, or the most curious delineation of primæval manners contained in it, which has no parallel in ancient literature, if we except the early history of the Old Testament.

(d) Il. P. 588.

(e) See her story in the fifth Odyssey.

(f) Men, whose wealth is celebrated by most of the ancient poets after the time of Homer.

(g) In his Orestes, ver. 349.

(h) Od. xvii. 266. Pope's translation of this poem was not at hand.

(i) Pope's Iliad, x. 170.

(k) See Pope's Iliad, ii. 478. vii. 380.

(l) *Fish* was esteemed a great delicacy by the ancients, as appears abundantly from Athenæus only.

(m) Il. ix. 90. *μενσεῖναι δαῖτα*, "calculated to produce strength."

(n) Our author alludes, I presume, to *Odyssey*, xix. vv. 225. 255.

(o) At the conclusion of the second *Iliad*.

(p) The reader will find the passage to which the writer has here alluded in the beginning of the third *Iliad*.

(q) This verse is found in the tenth *Iliad*, not far from the beginning.

(r) *Iliad* iii. 179.

(s) *Iliad* xx. 52.

(t) This incident occurs in Pope's *Iliad*, xviii. 255.

(u) Pope's *Iliad*, xxii. 491.

(v) *Iliad*, xvi. 745. of Pope.

(w) Callimachus, at ver. 52, of his hymn to Jupiter, says, that the Curetes, armed attendants on Cybele, danced round infant Jove, and clast upon their armour, to prevent the cries of the child from reaching the ears of Saturn. The same mythology is beautifully amplified by Lucretius, book ii. ver. 629—639.

(x) Compare Virgil's *georgics*, iv. 364. Statius, *Achill.* i. 223. Aristoph. *Nub.* 270.

(y) See Pope's version, *Iliad*, ii. 489. in my own edition.

(z) In the latter portion of the second *Iliad*.

(a) Verse 564 of the same book in Pope.

(b) These animals are the subjects of frequent comparisons in Homer.

(c) The free spirit, who may revolt at this order of merit, an individual preferred to a whole community, must recollect, that Alexander, a king in prospect, both young and absolute, is the speaker.

(d) Reiske notes on this passage an anachronism in our author, who inadvertently supposed himself speaking in his own capacity, and not in the person of Alexander: because this Apollodorus was tyrant of Cassandrea some years after the death of Alexander. That learned editor refers to Plutarch's

treatise on the slow *Vengeance of the Deity*: see vol. viii. p. 196. of his own edition; Ælian, var. hist. xiv. 41. Polyæn. vi. 7. and the third book of Diodorus Siculus, for other particulars of this monarch. The character and fate of Phalaris is universally divulged and known.

(e) Such excellent qualifications, inasmuch as they are invariably accompanied by a mild affections and a tranquil temper, with a security from violence in the universal love and respect of men, and are scarcely compatible with irregularities and intemperance of life, have a *natural tendency* to prolong the period of mortality. Solomon, in the picturesque, but simple, magnificence of oriental phraseology; as superiour to all the embellishments of Greek and Roman artifice, as his own glory was surpassed by the lilies of the field;—thus speaks of *Wisdom*, or a life truly rational and virtuous, Proverbs iii. 16.

Length of days is in her right hand :

And in her left hand, Riches and Honour.

(f) Concerning *Deioces*, see Herodotus, i. 96, &c. and for Leucon, Perizonius at Æl. var. hist. vi. 13.

(g) Now the reader has perused this dissertation, he will perceive, that the notions of *kingly government* here inculcated are consonant to the spirit of those times, when *military glory* usurped the summit of human worth, and when the same term *Virtus* denoted both *moral excellence*, and *bravery in battle*; and *στρατιῶται*, *citizens and armed men*. These conceptions of consummate merit in the royal character, however condemned by pure philosophy and evangelical religion, exactly harmonise with the butchering system of some modern statesmen, but on a much more grand and extensive plan: for Alexander *kill'd off* his thousands; they, their thousand times ten-thousand. Such characters may be expected to read this composition of Chrysostom with avidity, not merely as a specimen of sophistic eloquence, but as a repository of useful precept. How beautiful a panegyric, for those days of chi-

valry and heroism, has *Pindar* conferred on *Psaumis* of *Camarina* ! Ol. iv. 26.

Χαιρόντα τε ξεινίαις πανδοκοῖς,
Και πρὸς ἡσυχίαν φιλοπολίῳ
Καθάρῃ γνῶμῃ τετραμμένον.

" A man, who delights in the benevolences of undistinguishing hospitality ; and directs his pure mind to the enjoyments of that *TRANQUILLITY*, which renders a community flourishing and happy."

There occurs another passage in the same poet, so admirable in itself, and so applicable to the more striking events of the present and a former administration in this country, within our memories and experiment, that every reader, I am persuaded, will thank me for presenting it to his notice, or recalling it to his memory :

Ῥαδίον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν σει-
σαι καὶ ἀφαιροτέροις· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώ-
ρας αὐθις ἕσσαι, δυσπαλεῖς
Δὲ γίνεται ἑξαπῖνας,
Εἰ μὴ Θεὸς ἀγεμονέσσι κυβερ-
νατὴρ γένηται.—

" It is an easy task for men of inferior abilities and slender worth TO SHAKE A COUNTRY FROM THE FOUNDATIONS : but to place it firmly again upon it's basis, is an enterprise of no common difficulty, of no instantaneous accomplishment, unless GOD vouchsafe his indulgent cooperation to the Rulers."

DIOGENES, OR CONCERNING TYRANNY.

(a) The cause of this exile, *Diogenes Laertius* informs us in the life of our facetious philosopher, was an adulteration of the coin : and what immediately follows, respecting the

varied residences of the Persian kings, is found in the last book of Xenophon's *Institution of Cyrus*.

(b) That is, *Ἀττική* from *ἄκρη*, a coast.

(c) The name of the harbour at Athens.

(d) A harbour near Corinth.

(e) Called Craneum.

(f) The same with that mentioned in the first oration. The reader must recollect, to see the humour of the passage, that Diogenes all this while was reputed a mere filthy beggar; whose entire apparatus in meat, drink, and cloathing, consisted in a thick great coat, a bag for his meal, which he mixt with water, a ragged staff, and an earthen cup. This last, a Greek epigram tells us, he afterwards threw away, as a superfluous piece of furniture, upon seeing a herdsman take up water with the hollow of his hand.

(g) Such, I suppose, as by their powerful and pungent qualities provoke a queasy and jaded appetite to unnatural exertion. Horace, sat. ii. 8. 7.

acria circum
Rapula, lactucæ, radices; qualia lassum
Pervellunt stomachum: siser, alee, fecula Coa.

(h) The reader may find a very pleasant story, and extremely pertinent to this remark, in my notes on those humorous lines of Pope, imit. Hor. epist. vi. 117.

Call'd "Happy dog!" the beggar at his door;
And envied thirst and hunger to the poor.

(i) Horace speaks of *Chian* wine in ode iii. 19. 5. of *Chian* and *Lesbian* together, epod. ix. 34. and Virgil of *Thasian* and *Lesbian*, in georg. ii. 90. 91.

(k) A passage of the original is here omitted, very consonant to the course facetiousness of Cynic manners, which regarded neither decorum nor secrecy in their pleasures; but of so gross a complexion, as must have disgusted even those, who profess no extraordinary prudishness, and have shocked beyond measure the feelings of the serious. Nor could the sub-

stance have been moulded by a translator into any tolerable form for the inspection of modern decency.

(l) As Virgil in those wonderfully sonorous lines, *georg.* iii. ver. 549.

————— cessere magistri

Phillyrides Chiron, Amathaoniusque Melampus.

(m) In the same spirit Juvenal, very beautifully, at the conclusion of the tenth satire, imitated by Dr. Johnson :

—— pro jucundis aptissima quæque dabunt Dii :

Charior est illis homo, quam sibi.

Whereas modern devotees conceive of God as a *gloomy tyrant*, intent only on *punishing* and making miserable.

(n) As a naked savage is said to have replied to an European, in a well known story, *I am all face*. But the argument here, as in the case of frogs, is unsatisfactory and delusive. That very water, which our author styles *cold*, protects them from a colder atmosphere; and we are enabled to endure the cold on the exposed parts, by that diffusion of warmth and comfort, which is communicated to those parts by those which are covered. But the refutation of Dio's false philosophy is no article of my engagement with the public.

(o) Compare with this Lucretius' *rationale* of the punishments in Tartarus, book iv. ver. 991—1037.

(p) *Iliad* vii. 138. *Σεοι γεια ζωντες* : that is, says the scholiast, "without difficulty and labour:" like the lives of the virtuous in a future state, according to Pindar's description of it, *Olymp. ode*, ii, 109. "By night and by day in eternal sunshine, the good pass a life free from toilsome occupation; "neither molesting the earth with the labour of their hands, "nor the waters of the ocean, for perishable food." The same sentiments of the Gods were entertained by Epicurus and his disciples. Thus Lucretius, i. 57.

Omnis enim per se divom natura necesse est

Inmortali ævo summâ cum pace fruatur,

Semota ab nostris rebus sejunctaque longe :

Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,
 Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri,
 Nec bene promeritis capitur, neque tangitur ira.
 No tumult essences cœlestial know ;
 In ease their days, and peace eternal, flow :
 Throned far from earth, and ills that earth perplex,
 No fear to daunt them, and no cares to vex ;
 That perfect bliss can gifts, or prayers, controul ?
 Can Passion tempest an ætherial soul ?

(q) See Ælian's history of animals, iii. 23.

(r) Let us compare this animated description with one similar, still more interesting, more pathetic, and picturesque, in a prophetic delineation, substantially exhibited in future ages to the observation of mankind, by Moses, in Deuteronomy, chap. xxviii. ver. 65—68, of those calamities, which apostacy and vice would accumulate on the nation of the Jews :

Nor even in those nations will God give thee rest ;
 Nor will there be a firm position for thy footstep :
 And the Lord will give thee there another heart, destitute of confidence ;

And failing eyes, and a soul, wasting itself with sorrow.

Thy life will be in suspense before thine eyes ;
 And thou shalt be full of terrours by day and by night,
 Nor shalt thou enjoy any persuasion of continuance to thy life.

At the dawn, thou shalt say : “ Oh ! that it were evening ! ”
 And in the evening : “ Oh ! that it were the dawn ! ”
 From the fears, which will alarm thy heart ;
 And from the sights, which thine eyes will see.—

The translation I have given from the Septuagint, for want of another copy of the Bible in this miserable and incommodious situation.

(s) To the same purpose Shakespeare somewhere says :

————— *present fears*
 Are worse than *horrible imaginings*.

And Ovid, epist. xii. 82.

Morsque minus pœnæ, quam mora mortis, habet.

Add Pacatus in his panegyric on Theodosius Augustus, sect. 40. " I allow that a love of life is not only powerful, " but excessive in the human breast, and death, an object of " the utmost horror; only, however, as there is hope of the " one, and escape from the other. But, when the last hour " is come upon us, and that light, which will rise to us no " more; when Death presents himself in person; the extre- " mity, now become certain, is no longer dreaded. Hence " criminals, before their condemnation, are agitated by " strong terrors; but a profound stupefaction succeeds, " with a security resulting from despair, and a voluntary haste " to the place of execution, without any instigation of the " executioner."

I have illustrated this just sentiment in Remark xxvi. of my *internal Evidences*, second edition, on the circumstance of *Christ's agony* in the garden; but a want of books prevents a further illustration of it now.

(t) Juvenal, at the conclusion of his eleventh satire :

————— Voluptates commendat rarior usus.

(u) Juvenal, sat. x. verse 61.

Jam strident ignes, jam foliis atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus : deinde ex facie, toto orbe secundâ;
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellæ.

The same freedom would be taken, he presumes, with his body, when alive, as with his statues after death.

(v) In *Odyssey* x. 242.

(w) The picture of wretchedness and inquietude in a selfish, arbitrary, and cruel tyrant, is exhibited by the preceding essay in more lively colours and a more masterly pencil, than any representation of this kind, which occurs to recollection from the compass of my acquaintance with ancient literature. Juvenal's description of horror in a guilty conscience may be compared with it, sat. xiii. ver. 192—236.

DIOGENES, OR CONCERNING SERVANTS.

(a) Most of the domestic slaves in Greece came from Phrygia; and Athens was reputed the most free of all the Græcian commonwealths.

(b) Agreeably to that verse in Homer, employed on this subject by Aristotle in his Rhetoric, Iliad xviii. 139. of Pope's translation:

Wrath and revenge to every mortal breast
Sweet, as distilling honey to the taste.

Hence the precepts of the Gospel with respect to this violent and ungovernable propensity are unusually strict, emphatical, and numerous: Matt. v. 38—43. Rom. xii. 18—21. Ephes. iv. 26. 31. 32.

(c) To this purpose Persius, sat. v. 96.

Stat contra Ratio, et secretam garrit in aurem;
Ne liceat facere id, quod quis vitiahit agendo.
Publica lex hominum, Naturaque, continet hoc fas,
Ut teneat vetitos inscitia debilis actus.

See the remainder of the passage, and the original in Horace, epist. ii. 1. 114.

(d) Dignified by Juvenal, sat. xi. 27. with the title of a *heaven descended maxim*.

(e) The author here refers to certain passages in the Iliad, xx. 74. xiv. 291. ii. 813.

(f) It seems unnecessary to furnish a wearisome detail of these ancient fables here, they may be seen at the end of the Latin dictionary.

(g) As Juvenal says of Fortune at the end of his tenth satire:

Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia; sed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

(h) These circumstances are related in the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.

(k) This riddle is well known. "What is that animal,

“ which goes first on four legs, then on two, then on three?”

(l) The stupidity of the Bæotians is mentioned by Pindar, Horace, and Juvenal; and was proverbial among the ancients. The term has been transplanted into modern use. *Dunciad*, iii. 49.

Who knows how long thy transmigrating soul
Might from *Bæotian* to *Bæotian* roll?

(m) Many parts of the foregoing dialogue, particular those, which relate to the irrational prodigalities, the superfluous expenditure, and the frivolous ostentation of the rich, deserve the attention of the opulent and noble among our countrymen. A very distinguished nobleman of this day had invited an eminent literary character, whom I knew, to dine with him *alone* for the purpose of a private conversation. This nobleman and the clergyman dined *alone* accordingly, amidst the inspection of from *sixteen* to *twenty* servants in and out of livery!—What accommodation to scholars, what promotion of literature, would accrue from appropriating one thousandth part of this corrupting dissipation to the republication of valuable ancient authors in more commodious and correct editions, which can never be undertaken either by booksellers or private adventurers in subordinate stations under the tremendous pressure of taxation, already insupportable, and accumulating without limit, in this country!

The conclusion of this oration, like that of many others in our author, is abrupt.

ON GRIEF.

(a) In this same spirit Homer says, *Od.* xviii. 129.

Ουδεν ακιδνοτερον γαια τρεφει ανθρωποιο

Παντων, οσσα τε γαιαν επιπνεει τε και ερπει;

What creature more unhappy can be found

Than man, of all that breathe, and walk the ground?

Elsewhere he calls mankind, *οἰζυροῖσι βροτοῖσι*, *calamitous mortals*: Il. xiii. 569. and after him Lucretius and Virgil, *miseris—ægris—mortalibus*: *wretched—diseased—mortals*.

(b) Thus Epictetus, chap. x. "It is not the events of life, which harass mankind, but our prejudiced opinions of those events. Thus Death is not intrinsically terrible; otherwise it would have appeared terrible to Socrates; but our notions of Death as a terrible event. When, therefore, we find ourselves embarrassed and perplexed, let us accuse nobody but ourselves; that is, our own absurd persuasions."

(c) To this purport are those precepts of our Master, Matt. vii. 7. 8. 21. and Æsop's fable of the Waggoner and Hercules.

(d) This is admirable, but abundantly surpassed by the scenery and pathos of a similar passage in the Gospels, Luke xii. 16—22. to which I refer the reader.

(e) The character of this Essay is dignified and solemn, but appears from the bottom of p. 460 in the original, and the turn of the conclusion, to be imperfect.

ON IMMODERATE DESIRES.

(a) Upon the experimental basis of this infatuation is solidly constructed that apparently extravagant, but most judicious and true, assertion of our Lord, Luke xvi. 31. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rise from the dead."

(b) This expression *βιάσασθαι*—*to drive by violence*—very happily illustrates the phraseology in the parable of the Marriage-feast, Luke xiv. 23. "And the master said unto the servant: Go out into the roads and enclosures, and **FORCE** **THEM** to come in; (*αναγκασον εισελθειν*) that my house may be filled."

(c) In his *Phœnissæ*, ver. 534.

(d) The reader may compare on this sentiment Pope's *Iliad* ix. 522—532. with Matt. chap. xvi. verse 26. Pope's translation is beautiful, but not exact. The reader must candidly accept the following plain representation of the grand original.

For what so dear as Life? Not all the stores,
 E'er Argive armies landed on her shores,
 Which Troy, they say, in pride of power possest,
 While Peace protected, and while Fortune blest :
 Not all the pomp of treasur'd gifts, that load
 The shrines and portals of the Pythian God.
 Herds, steeds, and flocks, that range the rich domain,
 And tripods, gold may buy, and force may gain :
 But breath, nor force can gain, nor gold can buy,
 If through the barrier of the teeth it fly.

(e) From verse 544—550. of the same play in Euripides.

(f) In his *Works and Days*, verse 40. and we have a proverb, which resembles this in the apparent contradiction of its expression: "The *longest way about* is the *shortest way home*."—Indeed many proverbs are distinguished by such peculiarities of language.

(g) This is the very morality of the Gospel, with much similarity of phrase, Mark x. 29, 30. "Jesus answered and said: Verily I say unto you, There is no man, who hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for the sake of me and the Gospel, but will receive a hundred fold more in the present time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions, and in the world to come, everlasting life."

(h) See Herodotus, iii. 120. Cicero de fin. v. 30.

(i) The arteries were supposed by the ancient physicians to be full of *air* or *spirit*. This doctrine is mentioned in a subsequent discourse entitled *Charidemus*.

(k) Psalm xc. 10. "The days of our age are three-score years and ten—."

(l) 1 Tim. vi. 8. "Having food and covering, let us be therewith content."—Pope, moral epist. iii. 79.

What riches give us, let us then enquire.

Meat, fire, and cloaths. What more? Meat, cloaths, and fire.

(m) This story, if I rightly recollect, is originally given by Herodotus; and is repeated by Tzetzes somewhere in his Chiliads with much additional humour of description. The scholiast also on Pindar, Pyth. vii. 1. has introduced it on the mention of a descendant from Alcmaeon, the man, to whom Cræsus gave this liberty, though our author, with a customary negligence in general relation, speaks in the plural number.

ON THE CULTIVATION OF LETTERS.

(a) The author alludes here to a verse in the elegies of Solon, which thus expresses the intellectual activity of that renowned sage and legislator; an activity, highly laudable, and worthy of imitation.

Γηρασκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκομεν.

I grow in knowledge, as I wax in years.

(b) The use of eloquence, in congregating societies and establishing polities among mankind, is exhibited in all the magnificence of nervous and polished composition by the incomparable pen of Cicero in the introduction to his former book on *Rhetorical Invention*: as masterly a specimen of style, as can be found in all the works of that great writer.

(c) This is an allusion probably to Hesiod's Theogony, ver. 12. who tells us, that "the Muses met him, as he was tending his flock under mount Helicon, saluted him, gave him a sceptre, and breathed into him a divine voice."

(d) Homer speaks of *priests*, as honoured equally with the Gods from the sanctity of their office; of *men*, for their

bravery, their wealth, and their power, as resembling the Gods; but no passage, either in him or Hesiod, recurs to my memory, which our author may be supposed to have in view on this occasion.

(e) See note (b) of the first Essay.

(f) Reiske seems to infer reasonably from this passage, that copies of the other celebrated dramatic poets were scarce and expensive at Rome, in the days of Chrysostom.

(g) Our author exactly coincides in his judgements with the rational and instructive Quintilian, institt. orat. x. 1. "Every one must allow the superiour usefulness of Euripides to an orator: for his diction more approximates to the style of oratory; his moral sentences are thickly sown; in philosophy he almost equals the great professors of ancient wisdom; and in his dialogue he is comparable to the best of those, who have distinguished themselves for argumentative dexterity in the forum. Of wonderful ability in exhibiting all the passions of our nature; and in those of commiseration and distress, without a rival. Him Menander, as he testifies of himself, both exceedingly admired and imitated, though in a different province of dramatic poetry: a comedian, in my opinion, if diligently studied, alone sufficient for the accomplishment of our purpose: so complete in his picture of human life! such fertility of invention! such exuberant facility of eloquence! such ready adaptation of his poetry to all our uses of ordinary occurrences, characters, and passions!"

What immediately follows in Chrysostom is explained by recollecting, that Euripides was a disciple of Anaxagoras.

(h) Dio alludes to a distich in Theognis, ver. 3.

Αλλ' αiei πρωτον τε, και υστατον, εν τε μεσοισιν,

Αεισω—:

which Theocritus has imitated, idyll. xvii. 3.

Ανδρων δ' αυ Πτολεμαι ενι πρωτοισι λεγεσθω,

Και πυματ, και μεσσ:

a thought, infinitely elevated in the *Paradise Lost* by a sublime additional conception of our great artificer, v. 165.

On earth, join all ye Creatures to extol

Him *first*, him *last*, him *midst*, and WITHOUT END!

(i) *Lyric*, such as Alcæus, Sappho, Anacreon; *elegiac*, Solon, Theognis, Chion; *iambic*, Simonides, Lycophron, Hipponax; *dithyrambic*, Pindar: with others in all these varieties of poetry.

(k) I have seldom followed my own critical fancies on the text of this most depraved writer; nor shall I trouble the reader with a multitude of conjectural emendations: but I read here *ευποροῦν*, or *εφοδοῦν*—*accessible*, for *εφοροῦν*, which nobody has understood; and I suppose the circumstance mentioned in note (f) to be the proper interpreter of this passage.

(l) Commonly called the *Anabasis*, that is, *the ascent* into Persia, not, as it is mistakenly rendered, *the retreat*, of the ten thousand Greeks. I will take the liberty of adding my suffrage to that of Chrysostom, and delivering an opinion of this history, as the most interesting, the most elegant, the most simple, and the most transporting narrative, within the whole circumference of classical literature.

(m) This action is generally made by the ancient authors the forerunner of a speech. Thus Ajax in Ovid, met. xiii. 5.

Intendensque manus, Agimus, proh Jupiter! inquit,

Ante rat. caussam.

Acts of the Apostles, xxvi. 1. "Agrippa said unto Paul: "Thou hast permission to speak for thyself. Then Paul, "STRETCHING OUT HIS HAND, thus proceeded on his defence."—A striking and dignified passage.

(n) The turn of expression here would have led us to conclude, that *reading to others* was a *servile office* among the ancients; and we know from other authorities that *literary servants* were engaged for all these purposes: see Cicero's *Brutus*, sect. 22. and a subsequent discourse of Dio, entitled *Charidemus*.

ON RETIREMENT.

(a) *The hippodrome*, the race-ground, or *the riding-school*.

(b) An allusion, I presume, to an agricultural practice frequently mentioned in ancient writers, and thus graphically exhibited by Virgil, *georg.* i. 106.

Deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis:

Et, cum exustus ager morientibus æstuat herbis,

Ecce! supercilio clivosi tramitis undam

Elicit: illa cadens raucum per lævia murmur

Saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.

It seems unnecessary to subjoin in every instance a translation of passages from authors, whose works have been translated by the first poetical geniuses in our own country, and are in the hands of all readers who aspire to any character of taste and elegance; but I subjoin a plain translation now:

Then on the corn he turns the obsequious stream:

Nor less, when all it's herbage shrinks and dies

Through the parch'd plain, lo! from the stony brow

The swain elicits a refreshing rill;

That trippingly glides down the pebbly path

With murmurs hoarse, and slakes the thirsty ground.

(c) *Richard Cromwell* experienced the truth of this observation, and *Gray* acknowledges it in his *Elegy*:

Forbade to wade through slaughter to a throne,

And shut the gates of Mercy on mankind.

(d) This fancy of the Trojan shepherd was no bad fancy, in my opinion; and would not have disgraced his betters, if the means of realising the vision had proved no more exceptionable than the vision itself. Theocritus, to name no more, most evidently coincided with our sentiments in those trains of incomparable elegance and most enchanting melody, *idyll.* viii. 53.

Μη μοι γὰν Πελοπῶς, μη μοι Χραιοιο ταλαντα,

Εἷη εἶχειν, μηδὲ προσθεῖν ἀνεμῶν.

Ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὰ πετρά τ' αἶσσομαι, ἀγκας ἔχων τυ,
 Συγνομα μάλ' ἐσορῶν, τὰν Σικελαν τ' ἐς ἄλ.α.

I wish not Pelop's wide-extended lands,

Nor speed to leave the lagging gales behind ;

No realms of Cræsus, where o'er golden sands

The rippling streams of bright Pactolus wind :

But, whilst my sheep graze careless by the side

Of yon broad Hill, that flings his cooling shade

Near the bright bosom of Sicilia's tide,

May these fond arms enclasp my beauteous maid !

(e) *Venus* is distinguished by the epithet *golden* in Homer, Hesiod, and other poets.

(f) See Pope's *Iliad*, xx. 264.—Dio's discourse is defective, and probably mutilated, at this place.

On the CONDUCT of MEN at a PUBLIC DINNER.

(a) The *Nymphæ*, or *Lymphæ*, were Goddesses of the Fountains ; as *Bacchus* is known to have been the God of Wine.

(b) *Odyssey* xxi. 295. where only *one* Centaur is mentioned as disorderly.

(c) The meetings here meant were collections of people from all parts of Greece and the Græcian colonies, resembling some of our *Fairs*, half a century or a century ago, in England ; such as *Stirbitch* fair near Cambridge ; of which, the celebrity, the æconomy, and the humours, are curiously and successfully described in a long poem of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*.

(d) Psalm cxix. 71. " It is good for me to have been afflicted, that I may learn thy commandments."—Dr. Ogden also in his sermons, speaking of *Misfortunes*, says very beautifully to the same purpose:—" Evils, that are our greatest good ; that afflict, but purify ; that tear and harrow up the soul, but prepare it for the seeds of Virtue."

CHARIDEMUS.

(a) It will be soon discovered from the sequel, that the two people now addressed are the father and brother of Charidemus.

(b) From not recollecting, I suppose, which was the older of the brothers.

(c) *Iliad* iii. 65. ver. 93. in Pope; who renders the passage diffusely, but with his own taste and elegance.—Homer characterises the Gods by the epithet *δωτῆρες εἰων*, the *givers of GOOD THINGS*; as James in his epistle, i. 17. says, that “*every good gift cometh down from God.*”

(d) The reader may compare some very fine verses on this subject in Lucretius, v. 1217—1232. Horace too, ode iii. 5. 1.

Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare—.

Jove's thunders prove his empire to mankind.

(e) The original here is obscure, and probably imperfect from the omissions of the transcriber.

(f) Hesiod assigns even a contemporary origin to Gods and men in his *Works and Days*, ver. 103.

(g) By vanquishing the Titans in a battle, which Hesiod describes in his *Theogony* from ver. 664 to ver. 736. with many strokes of terrible sublimity; whence Milton has copiously borrowed in his battle of the Angels, and in other parts of his *Paradise Lost*, where he touches on the same subject.

These theories of philosophic minds under the twilight of *Nature*, before the morning-star of *Revelation* had arisen on the hearts of men, will prove highly gratifying to the reader, if his taste and feeling bear any resemblance to my own. To others, perhaps, they will appear but insipid and wearisome loquacity.

(h) Catullus has a beautiful passage to this effect in his majestic hymeneal of Peleus and Thetis, from ver. 384 to the

end; too long for transcription here: and Aratus in his *phænomena*, on the residence of *ASTRÆA* with the men of the Golden Age.

(i) This circumstance of *light* seems to have been a very important article in the banquets of the ancients, and was supplied with much ostentation and expence. There are some elegant verses to this effect in Lucretius, ii. 24. who alludes to Homer's *Odyssey*, vii. 100. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* i. 726. Hence the *outer darkness* of the New Testament, Matthew viii. 12. or the outside of the door, into which the hypocritical professors of the Gospel will be thrust, from the *lightness* of the supper-room.

(k) Essay on Man, iii. 29.

Who for thy *table* feeds the wanton fawn,
For him as kindly *spread* the flowery lawn.

In my note on that couplet the reader may find further illustration of this elegant and pleasing thought.

(l) The *Horæ*, Goddesses of youth and beauty. A beautiful and fragrant cup is said by Theocritus to be *dipped in the fountain of the SEASONS*: *Idyll.* i. 150.

(m) Psalm xlix. 18. "For he will carry nothing with him, "when he dieth; neither will his pomp follow him."—1 Tim. vi. 7. "We brought nothing into this world, and "it is plain, that we can carry nothing out." Propertius exhibits the same sentiment with much dignity and vivacity, *eleg.* iii. 5. 13.

Haud ullas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas:
Nudus ab infernâ, stulte! vehere rate.

Reft of thy wealth, unplumed of all thy pride,
Soon wilt thou sink, fond dotard! in the grave:
In Charon's vessel naked shalt thou ride
O'er Acheron's irremeable wave!

(n) It was deemed great intemperance by the ancients to drink *wine* unmixed with *water*, though some luxurious and immoderate sensualists mingled even *aromatics* with their wine to render it more intoxicating. Hence appears the

meaning of an expression in the Revelations, xiv. 10. which no man, to the best of my knowledge, has ever understood: "And he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath, that MIXED " UNMIXED WINE, in the cup of his indignation:" that is, *mixed* with *perfumes*, and *unmixed* with water.

(o) Compare Theocritus, i. 29—38. for a very elaborate description of such a cup, though of different materials; and the less ambitious imitation of Virgil, ecl. iii. 36—47. with *Æn.* i. 640.

(p) The discourse of Charidemus finishes with this sentence.

THE LYBIAN FABLE.

(a) The love of fable in all ages, as a vehicle of moral precept, is sufficiently collected from an early specimen in Scripture, that of Jotham, Judges, ix. 7—21. from the writings of the Greeks, Arabians, and Romans, to our own times. But what has surpassed, nay, what has equalled, the parables of *the Prodigal Son*, *the Good Samaritan*, *the Unforgiving Servant*, *the Rich Man and Lazarus*, with several more, in the Gospel Histories, for an union of *Utility* and *Sweetness*?

(b) That *brightness of the skin*, though it does not enter into the modern descriptions of female beauty, constitutes very generally a component part in the encomiums of the ancients on that interesting article. Thus Horace, ode i. 19. 5.

Urit me *Glyceræ* nitor,

Splendentis Pario marmore purius:

Urit grata protervitas,

Et *vultus* nimium *lubricus* adspici.

Hence Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 291. im. ed. Potter. mentions the *το στιλπνον* and *μαρμαρυγῶδες*, the *glistening* and *sparkling* of the countenance. The reader, whose taste inclines him to these philological entertainments, will find more

amusement of this nature on the same topic in my note at verse 1027. of the fourth book of Lucretius.

This description of the monster bears much resemblance to that of Scylla in the third *Æneid*. v. 426.

Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo

Pube tenus; postrema, inmani corpore pistris—.

(c) This *Hercules*, or true child of REASON and legitimate disciple of PHILOSOPHY, is thus charactered with admirable elegance and pregnancy by Horace, sat. ii. 7. 83.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus,

Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula,
terrent :

Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores,
Fortis, et in se ipso totus; teres atque rotundus
Externi ne quid valeat per læve morari:
In quem manca ruit semper Fortuna.—

Who then is truly independent? Who?
The PHILOSOPHIC MIND, who curbs and awes
Each wayward appetite; who fearless views
And scorns, or poverty, or chains, or death:
Who quells Desire, and titles bravely spurns,
As babish toys: centred in himself;
All smooth and round, that no external ills
Grate on his polish'd surface: Fortune thence,
All impotent, recoils with vain attempt.

CONCERNING THE DÆMON.

(a) This *Dæmon*, or Genius, was supposed by the ancients to be the inseparable associate through life of every individual; to be born and to perish with him: as the *Nymph* and her *Tree*, in the poets. He is thus described by Horace, where that poet is representing the various pursuits and different propensities of men; epist. ii. 2. 187.

Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ Deus humanæ, mortalis in unum
Quodque caput.

The cause of these diversities well knows
The attendant Genius, who the natal star
Attempts, and controuls with sway supreme
Our natures, mortal with their mortal date.

Virgil, perhaps, had respect to this doctrine in those words of Nisus, *Æn.* ix. 184.

Nisus ait : Diine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale ? an sua cuique Deus fit dira cupido ?

Does God inspire this ardour in our minds ?
Or is strong eagerness of soul our God ?

See Apuleius on *the God of Socrates*, p. 687. edit. Delph. The *Jews* also appear to have entertained an opinion very similar to this notion of the Greeks and Romans, if not exactly the same, as the words of our Lord, who generally spake in conformity to the educational persuasions and popular sentiments of his countrymen, should lead us to conclude ; thus recorded by Matthew, chap. xviii. verse 10. " See that ye despise
" not one of these little ones (that is, these *lowly men*, my
" disciples) : for I tell you, that THEIR ANGELS are always
" beholding the face of my Father, who is in heaven."

The object of Chrysostom in this essay is, to discountenance and disprove this doctrine of the philosophers.

(b) The influence and respectability of an orator in the free states of Greece is thus represented in the majesty of Virgil's poetry, *Æn.* i. 148—154. who, like Quintilian, maintains the inseparable association of true *Eloquence* with *Virtue* :

Ac, veluti magno in populo quum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus ;
Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat ;
Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, adrectisque auribus adstant :
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.

I do not know, whether it has been observed, that these fine

verses are considerably indebted to a beautiful passage in the Theogony of Hesiod, ver. 81—94. and were possibly suggested by it. For a translation of the verses from Virgil I may pardonably refer the reader to Dryden, Pitt, and many others: of Hesiod, I subjoin a plain translation.

The king Jove-nurtured, whom the Muses bless
 With smile propitious, from those heavenly Maids
 The gift receives of Eloquence divine,
 Distilling sweet and soothing from his tongue.
 On him, dispensing justice by right rules,
 Admiring subjects gaze: his wise decrees
 Quench, in an instant quench, the hot debate.
 Hence kings derive their usefulness and power,
 From wrongs redress'd, from mischiefs rectified,
 By healing counsels and assuasive speech.
 Him, as he walks the city, reverent crowds
 Salute with godlike homage, and with awe
 Round their majestic sovereign silent stand.
 Such are the Muses' sacred gifts to man!

A fine description of the same kind may be seen in Job, chap. xxix. ver. 7—18.

(c) This circumstance alludes to the walls of Athens in the time of Pericles and the Peloponnesian war: but most of the historical transactions here recorded are too well known to require note and reference. The same reason probably, the notoriety of these facts, induced our author presently, after a previous mention of Themistocles and Pericles, and a statement of particulars on the subject of Themistocles, to pass by the exemplification of his doctrine from the conduct of Pericles, as universally known from the history of Thucydides.

(d) See Plutarch's life of Alcibiades, sect. 13.

(e) This implies, if Reiske and myself rightly apprehend our author, that *new Carthage* in Spain was colonised, or received an accession of inhabitants, from the fugitives of the old city in Africa.

(f) Reiske misapprehended the purpose of Chrysostom in

this passage, who finishes and corroborates his argument by an allusion to the term, which implies *happiness* and *prosperity* in the Greek language, *Ευδαιμονία*, the influence of a good *Dæmon*; and *bona Fortuna* by the Romans.

— DIOGENES, OR CONCERNING VIRTUE.

(a) I do not find any mention of these circumstances in the life, which Diogenes Laërtius has given of this Megarean Euclid in the second book of his biography. The same Euclid is spoken of by Cicero in his *Academics*.

(b) Laërtius gives a respectable account of this Cynic; and from his narrative we may collect that connection of these two philosophers, spoken of by Chrysostom. Stanley is the proper author to be consulted on these occasions.

(c) Diogenes intended to insinuate the laxity of his manners in comparison with his doctrine, and his inattention to his own precepts: like a *plump ruby-faced divine* in our days, preaching up *abstinence* and *self-denial* in *Lent*.

(d) A school, or place for gymnastic exercises, at Corinth. Lucian, in his first dialogue of the dead, speaks of Diogenes as constantly living in this place: a circumstance, mentioned also in other passages of his works. See the commentators on that dialogue.

(e) See Zenobius, v. 37. Diogenianus, vii. 16. and Suidas in this proverb:

Οὐ παντὶ ἀνδρὶ εἰς Κορινθὸν εἶσθ' ὁ πλεῖς :

“ It is not for every man to take a voyage to Corinth.” See also the commentators on the same proverb in Horace, *epist.* i. 17. 36.

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum :

and in Hesychius.

(f) Modern physicians would not object to this proof of their *benevolence* and *zeal*, if it came accompanied by their own

terms. Physicians of former days, like the *advocates* of the same times, exacted no *fees*, but confided to the spontaneous liberality of the opulent. Were I a mere disciple of natural Religion I should exclaim with Horace:

————— Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!

Oh! had I lived with heroes such as these!

(g) These games were celebrated on the Isthmus, which connects Peloponnesus with the rest of Greece. Hence we pertinently observe and justly applaud the reasonable and elegant address of the apostle Paul in his allusions to the gymnastic exercises through his epistles to the Christian converts in this gay and luxurious city, *Corinth*: see 1 Cor. iv. 11. 2 Cor. xi. 23. xiii. 5, 6. but particularly a most eloquent and splendid passage, conducted with unexceptionable uniformity and incomparable dexterity of figure, the four concluding verses in the *ninth* chapter of his *former* epistle to these *Corinthians*.

(h) Horace has presented us with the same sentiment in a very excellent epistle, the second of his former book, ver. 37.

————— Nam cur,
Quæ lædunt oculum, festinas demere; si quid
Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
Whence this impatient eagerness to heal
An ailment of thine eye, but ills, that gnaw
Thy mind, are left uncured from day to day?

(i) Agreeably to the Jewish proverb, Luke iv. 24. "No teacher is received with approbation in his native place."

(k) Generally understood to be the *greyhound*; the *veloces Spartæ catulos*, the *swift breed of Sparta*, as Virgil calls them, *georgics* iii. 405.

(l) From this *indentation* or *incision*, at the fine ligature, which connects the upper and lower parts of their bodies, these and similar animals received their denomination of *εντομα*, or *insects*, from the Greeks.

(m) This passage will be best explained by a well-known

Greek epigram, of extraordinary neatness and comprehension:

Τέσσαρες εἰσιν ἄγωνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἴσοι·
 Οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων.
 Ζηνῶ, Λητοῖδας, Παλαιμόνῳ, Ἀρχεμοροῖο·
 Ἀθλα δὲ τῶν κοτίνῳ μῆλα, σελίνα, πίτυς.

“ Four games have been instituted in Greece, the Olympian,
 “ the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean; all of them
 “ sacred: two in honour of Gods; two, of men: of Jupiter
 “ and Apollo, of Palæmon and Archemorus: and the re-
 “ wards bestowed on the conquerors are wreaths of wild-
 “ olive, of the apple-tree, the pine, and parsley.”

(n) This sort of combat was distinguished by an appropriate name, the *Pancratium*; and is practised now in this country by the vulgar in some Northern counties. I once witnessed such a battle at Warrington in Lancashire within a stone's throw of my own house; where one of the party was killed by a bite from his antagonist on the side of his belly.

(o) *Iliad* xv. verses 696. and 711. of the original.

(p) Milton's *Comus*, ver. 68.

Soon as the potion works, their human count'nance,
 The express resemblance of the Gods, is chang'd
 Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,
 Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat.—

(q) The candidates for prizes in the games, at some periods of those institutions, were accustomed to eat as much as possible with a view of making themselves large and fleshy. This practice had a peculiar name, *αναγκοφαγία*, or *compulsive eating*; as if beyond appetite and inclination, I suppose.

(r) This passage will require no illustration to those, who are acquainted with the manners and opinions of the Cynic school: and the life of Diogenes by Laërtius will throw much light on all that is said on the subject of this philosopher in the various orations of Dio Chrysostom.

CONCERNING SLAVERY AND LIBERTY *.

DISCOURSE I.

* Slavery and Liberty, *mental* not *political*, form the subject of these philosophical disputations.

(a) This accident is recorded by Herodotus.

(b) Compare Romans, ii. 14, 15. xiii. 5. These are called by moralists "Duties of imperfect obligation."

(c) The Romans were accustomed to mark their slaves with a hot iron on the forehead, or some other part of the body: and to this practice the apostle Paul, who frequently styles himself *the slave of Jesus Christ*, alludes in his epistle to the Galatians, chap. vi. verse 17. "I bear in my body "the MARKS of the Lord Jesus." Compare also Revelations, ix. 4. xiv. 9.

(d) The operations, relative to the preparation of *bread*, were conducted by *slaves* among the Romans: so that a *bake-house* or a *mill*, and a *bridewell*, or place of criminal punishment from hard labour, were denominated by the same term, *pistrinum*.

(e) The correspondence of this practice in the Northern European nations with the *tattooing* of the Americans; the *scalping* mentioned by Herodotus, as practised by another people of the higher latitude, the Scythians; with many other similarities; indicate the course of migration from the old to the new continent in former ages, and harmonise with the discoveries of modern navigators concerning the vicinity of the continents, Europe and America.

(f) The *Mossunaci*: and this practice, resembling that in Thibet, is thus recorded by Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 1028.

Αὐτὰρ ἐν ὕψιστῳ βασιλεὺς μοσσυνι θασσῶν
 ἰθείας πολέεσσι δικὰς λαοῖσι δικάζει,
 Σχετλίῳ· ἣν γὰρ πῶ τι θεμιστευὼν ἀλιτῆται,
 Λίμῳ μιν κεν' ἡμὰρ ἐνικλίσαντες ἐχθροῖν.

There in his box sublime the monarch sits,
 Dispensing, to his crowding subjects, laws.
 Wretch! if he swerve from Justice, all that day
 Shut up, and pinch'd by hunger, he must pass.

(g) As Æschylus in his *Prom. vinct.* ver. 220.

(h) This criterion of *free-men* under the Roman constitutions is generally known, and has been adopted by the emblematical representations of the moderns. Persius, v. 82.

Hæc mera LIBERTAS, hoc nobis PILEA donant.

CONCERNING SLAVERY AND LIBERTY.

DISCOURSE II.

(a) The part of Attica, where this class of people were stationed: see Diogen. cent. v. 94.

(b) In his answer to Minerva, *Odyss.* i. 215.

Μήτηρ μὲν τ' ἐμὲ φησι τὸ ἐμμεναι· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γὰρ
 Οὐκ οἶδ'· ἔγχαρ' πῶ τις ἐόν γόνον αὐτῷ ἀνεγνώ.

My mother calls me his: unknown to me
 The truth: for who can ascertain his sire?

(c) The common, though most unnatural, practise of exposing children in former ages gives a probability to many of these traditions, which may appear merely marvellous inventions of the poets to the incredulity of the present day, under such a different condition of domestic society and civil life. I have known experimentally, and others must have known, animals of a very different species reciprocally tended and suckled in circumstances perfectly correspondent to those of exposed infants.

(d) As Σωτήρ, Divus, Optimus Maximus, and others.

(e) As he tells Ulysses in *Od. O.* 413.

Εὐθα δὲ πολίεις, διχα δὲ σφίσι πάντα δεδασται·
 Τῇσι δ' ἀμφοτέρησι πατήρ ἐμ' ἐμβάσιλευε,
 Κτήσι δ' Ὀρμανίδης, ἐπιεικέλ' ἀθανάτοισι.

Two states distinct there flourisht ; and of both
My sire was sovereign, Ctesius, Ormen's son,
In kingly virtues like a deathless God.

(f) Several very rich people of this name are mentioned by Ælian and Plutarch.

(g) The fact, to which Chrysostom alludes, is recorded by Pausanias, by most of the Greek historians, and many other writers: see Diodorus Siculus, lib. xv. sect. 55, 56.

(h) Some verses in Juvenal's EIGHTH satire, the whole of which poem is perfectly congenial with the spirit and object of Chrysostom's discourse, wear a great resemblance to this passage; ver. 56.

Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles! animalia muta
Quis GENEROSA putat, nisi fortia?—Nempe volucrem
Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palmâ
Fervet, et exultat rauco victoria circo.
NOBILIS hic, QUOCUMQUE VENIT DE GRAMINE,
cujus
Clara fuga ante alios, et primus in æquore pulvis.
Tell me, fond boaster! what is generous deem'd
In creatures dumb, but native fire and force?
Thus the fleet horse we praise, whom numerous wreaths
Have graced, and crowds with shouting plaudits hail'd.
This steed is noble, wheresoe'er he graz'd,
Whate'er his sire, who scours the dusty plain,
And leaves his lagging rivals far behind.

(i) Such people are said by Horace to be descended from NO ancestors, NULLIS majoribus orti: sat. i. 6. 10. and Persius calls them, *Progenies terræ*, the production of the ground; vi. 57.

CONCERNING WAR AND PEACE.

(a) This fragment, or prolusion to a longer discourse, deserves the notice of some modern statesmen, who plunge into public business in their boy-hood, and suppose **POLITICAL WISDOM** to consist in a bold fluency of **POMPOUS AND EMPTY SOUNDS**, unstored with historic treasures, and unenlightened by philosophy.

(b) This was called, as our author soon informs us, *the Sacred Band*; of which see a different account in Plutarch's life of Pelopidas, sect. 18, 19.

DIOGENES, OR THE ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE.

(a) The reader will discover a resemblance in this discourse to many passages in that styled also *Diogenes*, or Concerning Virtue.

(b) *Dog*, or *Cynic*; *κυνικὸς*: like a dog, the name of these philosophers, for the reason immediately subjoined by Chrysostom.

(c) The general maxim, by which the Cynics regulated their intercourse with society, was comprehended in two words: *Ἀληθειαν καὶ Παρρησιαν*, **TRUTH** and **FREE-SPEECH**: a maxim, highly commendable in itself, and worthy of adoption even by Christian philosophers under the guidance and coercion of **BENEVOLENCE**; so that no constitutional spleen or private animosity prompt it's operations, but honest independence and the general welfare of mankind.

(d) These remarks are authenticated by the daily practises of society. The writer of this paragraph has the honour of being judged by many full as *mad* as Diogenes was thought by his contemporaries, and for the very same reason, an **UNDAUNTED FREEDOM OF SPEECH** in the chastisement of

HYPOCRISY and DEPRAVITY: but he has not found his equanimity very severely tried by those contumelies, which have befallen him in company with his betters of every age and nation. "Many among them said: HE HATH A DAMON, AND IS MAD: why listen ye to him?" was the sentence of some Jewish wise-acres, or malignants, on that grand reformer and deliverer of mankind, JESUS of Nazareth: John, x. 20.

(e) Alluding to the garland of *wild olive*. Theocritus, idyll. v. 100.

Σιττ' ἀπο τὰς κοτιῶν, τὰς μηκάδας ὥδε νεμεσθε.

Hist, Goats! from that *wild-olive*: feed elsewhere.

And the persons alluded to in the preceding sentence are the umpires and superintendents of the Games. So Virgil, Æn. v. 72. of Æneas:

Sic fatus, velat maternâ tempora myrto.

Hoc Helymus facit, hoc ævi maturus Acestes,

Hoc puer Ascanius; sequitur quos cætera pubes.

He round his temples binds a myrtle wreath;

His hoary train no less, and youthful class,

With the same garlands all entwine their brows.

(f) In the twenty-second book of the Iliad.

(g) At a very large and general meeting of dissenting Ministers at Exeter, in the earlier part of this century, when the question of subscriptions to articles of faith at Ordination was very warmly and equally debated, but carried in favour of religious liberty; Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, on hearing the result of their deliberations, cried out: "The Bible has carried it by FOUR!"

(h) Tereus was changed into a lapwing, according to Ovid, met. vi. 674.

(i) The pertinency of many remarks in this and a former discourse will not be adequately appreciated by the reader, who does not advert to the glory and felicity of a victor in these Games among his contemporaries. Pindar says on this subject, Ol. i. 157.

Ὁ νικῶν δὲ, λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίον
ἔχει μελιτοῦσσαν εὐδίαν,
ἀθλῶν γ' ἔνεκεν.

“ The conqueror, for the remainder of his days, enjoys a
“ delicious tranquillity, in consequence of success in these
“ glorious contests.”—To which many similar passages
might be added.

This discourse also seems imperfect at the conclusion, like
several of the rest.

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